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STEWARTSON'S HISTORY

OF THE

CHIEFS AND STATE OF SCOTLAND

FROM THE FIRST RECORDS

TO THE PRESENT TIME

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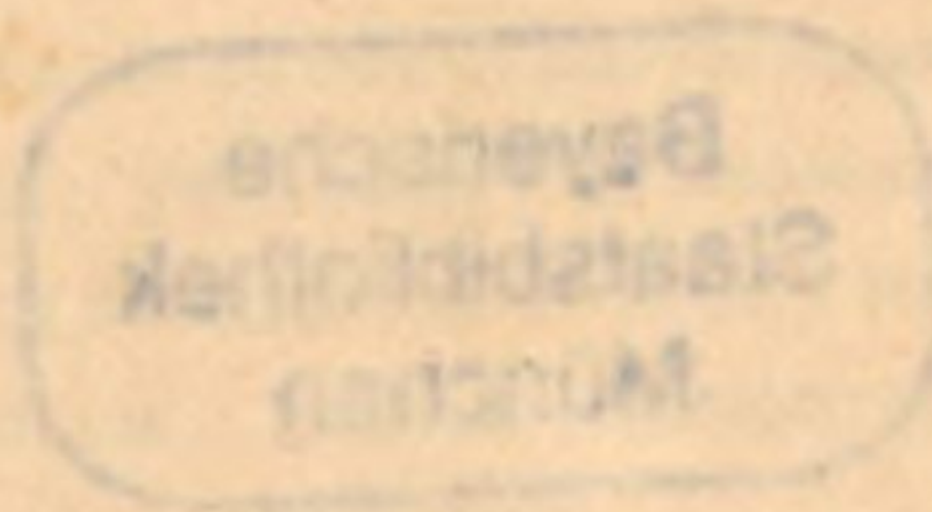
STEVENSON'S HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH AND STATE OF SCOTLAND.

PRICE 12s., CLOTH BOARDS.

HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF SCOTLAND
DURING
THE COMMONWEALTH.



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HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF SCOTLAND
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THE COMMONWEALTH.

BY THE
REV. JAMES BEATTIE.

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HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

FROM

THE REFORMATION

TO THE

PRESENT TIME

BY

WILLIAM WATSON, ESQ.

OF THE BARRS, ADVOCATE GENERAL

OF SCOTLAND, &c. &c. &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

LONDON: Printed by J. JOHNSON, Strand, 1793.

MDCCXCIII.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Work is intended as a CONTINUATION OF STEVENSON'S HISTORY OF THE CHURCH AND STATE OF SCOTLAND, and brings down the History from the death of Charles I., where the work of Stevenson ends, to the Restoration of Charles II., a portion of history which, had his life been spared, that author originally intended to have accomplished in a fourth volume.

ADVERTISEMENT

The following work is intended as a contribution
to the history of the Church in the
early Christian era, and traces down the history
from the death of Christ to the time of the
formation of the Church of Christ. It
contains a history of the Church, and a
history of the world, and is the best
that has yet appeared in any language.
It is a work of great value.

TO
THE REVEREND THOMAS M'CRIE, S.T.P.

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, EDINBURGH;

AUTHOR OF THE "LIFE OF DR M'CRIE," &c.

MY DEAR SIR,

In prefixing your name to the following pages, I have been influenced by motives both of a public and private kind; and it is hoped that their united influence will be felt by others, so as to secure a cordial acquiescence in the propriety of this Dedication. Under our continued, though unavailing regrets, for the loss of one whose pre-eminence in the ecclesiastical literature of his age, and whose surpassing services in the cause of the Reformation, are not likely to be soon disputed, it is no inconsiderable solace to me, that we have, in his son and successor, not only a very gratifying likeness of the same high mental endowments, excellent principles, and endearing dispositions, but the assiduous and successful application of these to the same honourable pursuits, as is manifest from your publications, which not only possess great value in point of intrinsic merit and public utility, but which are also highly prized as pledges for the encouragement of our expectations.

In regard to the following work, permit me, Sir, to acknowledge, as is now done in public, that, to a very considerable degree, it owes its appearance to yourself. You suggested

the undertaking, supplied the most of what is scarce and difficult to be found of its materials, and, amid the multiplicity of your own arduous engagements, gave all the direction and assistance in your power, with a frankness and politeness, which many, who make far higher pretensions as patrons of literature, would do well to imitate. Nor can you be fairly held responsible for any defects to be found in the work, for I claim the honour of thinking for myself ; but if it be found in any degree worthy of public notice, the part you have acted is the more entitled to my particular acknowledgments.

A history of the Church of Scotland during the Commonwealth has long been regarded as a desideratum by presbyterians ; they have often asked how the chasm between Stevenson's History and that of Cruickshanks has never been filled up. There is certainly something very repulsive in the *prima facie* aspect of this period, arising from the state of parties, and particularly from the unseemly wranglings of presbyterians ; and another principal difficulty lies in the poverty of the materials indispensably necessary for the composition of the work. Previous to the suppression of the General Assembly, the difficulty is not great ; but after the source afforded by the records of that court is dried up, the way becomes apparently barren and uncertain. I have derived great assistance from one volume, which contains the principal pamphlets published by the resolutioners, and by the protesters, in succession. It not only led me forward, but threw great light upon the period, and upon passages found in other books. With such a clue in the one hand, and, in the other, with all the light which could be elicited, by careful investigation and comparison, from Baillie's Letters, Lamont's Diary, Balfour's Historical Works, and the common histories, from occasional notices in the sermons and fugitive publications of that period, I took courage, and went through what appeared the dark and perplexing mazes of a labyrinth, with a degree of satisfaction and certainty, far beyond any thing anticipated

at the commencement. It would be intolerable affectation to pretend to have seen all the publications of that period, for, like the present, it was an age of pamphlets ; but I have seen nearly as many as satisfied myself, and, it is hoped, enabled me to say nearly as much as will satisfy the reader. Although some may think that too much time is occasionally spent on Cromwell's history, an indulgence may be granted for a diversion made for the contemplation of no ordinary character, which, at the same time, contributes in some degree to the elucidation of the main subject.

My endeavour has been to narrate facts with simplicity and candour ; and my reflections, both in respect to former and present times, are not the effusions of party spirit and personal pique, but the conscientious and impartial conclusions of judgment. Hoping, that by the blessing of the Most High, in answer to our fervent prayers, this humble contribution to the public cause may be productive of some good, and that it may not be deemed altogether unworthy of reception by the public, I am,

MY DEAR SIR,

your much obliged friend,

THE AUTHOR.

BALMULLO, CUPAR-FIFE,

22d Dec. 1841.

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HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND,

DURING THE COMMONWEALTH.

CHAPTER I.

Attachment of the Scots to the House of Stuart—groundless charges preferred against them by Episcopalians—cordiality of the nation in inviting Charles to the throne—care for the safety of the constitution. Deputation to the Hague—abolition of Church-patronage—good offices of Mr Spang at court—companions and predispositions of Charles—counsels of different parties—arrival of Sir Joseph Douglas and commission—their introduction to the king, and reception—his unsatisfactory promises—he resolves to go to Ireland—the commissioners return. Insurrection of royalists at Stirling, and in the north—its suppression. Day of thanksgiving. Acts of church and state. Act for reforming the army. General Assembly meets—report of deputation—proceedings against malignants—apology for its apparent severity. Warning to all ranks. Ecclesiastical arrangements for election of ministers—address to presbyterians in England—attention to education—new psalmody—Livingston requested to prepare history of the church. Malignants admitted into the church. Address to the king—his adverse circumstances. Royalists routed by English in Ireland. Treaty concluded at Breda—nullified by parliament—compliance of Charles—his arrival in Scotland. Invasion of Scotland by Montrose—he is defeated and executed. State of religion in Scotland.

THE history of Scotland, from the Reformation to the Revolution, is pervaded with various striking proofs of an ardent attachment to the house of Stuart, on the part of the people in general, and of a powerful predisposition to employ their utmost efforts for the stability of the throne, and the safety of their prince. Their common ideas of national great-

ness were closely associated with the splendours of the crown; and entertaining no doubt of the legitimate claims of the existing dynasty, they were not reluctant on any occasion to give the most decisive proofs of their loyalty. It would not be easy to select a passage of their history in which the national feeling, on this subject, has been wound up to a higher pitch of intensity than at the period when the First Charles fell a sacrifice to his own obstinate attachment to arbitrary power and ecclesiastical despotism. The foul atrocity was perpetrated by a dominant faction of England, in direct opposition to petitions and protests from the presbyterians of that kingdom, as well as in the face of the most solemn remonstrances from the church and nation of Scotland. Nor was it then necessary for the friends of that unfortunate prince to spend time in deciding the abstract question of a people's right, in any circumstances, to criminate their supreme magistrate, or to hold him responsible for the violation of laws, by which, according to his compact with them, he is bound to rule; for the whole process of his trial and condemnation was marked by the most flagrant violation of order, and by an utter disregard of the national will, intimated by freely chosen and fully accredited representatives. The death of Charles was not the decree of parliament, but of an assembly packed by military force for the purpose. This assembly was not the nation's representative, it was the organ of a sectarian army which, having usurped public authority, rendered itself at once dreadful and detestable to many in England, and to the whole nation of Scotland. There is reason to believe that, but for the public confusions, and the consequent difficulty of rallying their forces, some more general and strenuous effort would have been made to rescue the king from the violence of his enemies; and, it is evident, that in such an enterprise none would have embarked with greater cordiality, or shewed greater

promptitude in preparing to make every sacrifice consistent with good principle, than the presbyterians, whose previous and explicit engagements had a particular respect to the safety of his majesty's person. The tidings of the appalling tragedy having been acted, proved astounding to the public mind, and were generally received with every expression of abhorrence and indignation.

It could serve no good purpose to attempt an exposure or refutation of the countless endeavours made by the partizans of episcopacy to fasten the worst charges upon the Scottish army, and upon the presbyterian church; charges renewed and often exaggerated on the recurrence of an anniversary still observed in honour of their renowned martyr. Such as have given a very little attention to the subject, and contemplated it in a spirit of candour, can be at no loss to see that the endless and unmeasured invectives in which the episcopalians have indulged against the presbyterians, proceed from something more keenly felt than the death of the king; to such inquirers it will appear more than probable that the unpardonable offence given by the covenanters is the success that crowned their laudable efforts at the second reformation. In point of fact, the perennial passion in which the church of England indulges, respecting the death of the king, and her serious manifestations against the Scots, proceed, in a great measure, from the mortification felt by a proud hierarchy, at the repeated triumphs of presbytery over all that prelates, supported by princes and the powers of this world, have been able to accomplish for its suppression. Their failure in the establishment of a charge of regicide, against their northern neighbours, has been not less complete than their prospect of being able to restore episcopacy is hopeless. And no presbyterian now considers it necessary to repel the countless insinuations and serious charges against his church and his country, that meet him in his

progress through the histories and the sermons of England. One might suppose, from the professions put forth on this subject, by the advocates of episcopacy, that their innocence of everything connected with the king's death is surely above suspicion. But, if the man that encourages his neighbour, and confirms him in the direct way to ruin, be in any degree responsible for the consequences, it is most certain that the prelates are deeply involved in the guilt of all that befel the first Charles: for their evil and insidious counsels contributed more to his ruin than anything else. By pandering to his ambitious propensities, respecting the royal prerogative, and practising on his superstition and credulity, they got possession of his confidence; and, for the promotion of their own purposes, they first led him to presume against the laws and the liberties of his subjects, until he found himself in the utmost extremity; and they then deafened him against the entreaties of wisdom and compassion until his ruin became irremediable. The ministers of Scotland did oppose him, but their opposition proceeded on principle, and is in no respect at variance with any sentiment of loyalty and good affection. It would be easy to shew that the attachment of Scotland to kings had already been severely tested; but it was neither extinguished, nor in any degree diminished, as is equally evident from the deep sorrow awakened by the death of one Charles, and the joyous alacrity which marked the proclamation of another.

There is no evidence that either the people of Scotland, or her public authorities in church and state, entertained any doubt, or evinced the least hesitation, respecting the propriety of promoting the Prince of Wales, on proper conditions, to the throne of his ancestors. Their procedure in this matter was at first prompt, harmonious, and decisive. And, it should not be overlooked, that in proceeding to proclaim the second Charles, the Scots exposed them-

selves to imminent danger. For no measure could have been more offensive to the dominant party in England, or more certain to call forth their most hostile demonstrations against the kingdom of Scotland; and England being the more powerful nation, both in respect of numbers and general resources, Scotland had everything to fear; and nothing but a prevailing attachment to the king, and to the cause of monarchy, in connection with the love of civil and religious liberty, can account for the alacrity with which they declared for their young prince, and for the stern defiance they bade to the army of England. The manner in which Cromwell and his party had proceeded in usurping the highest authority in that nation, with their general revolutionary movements, were regarded by the Scots as a specimen of what awaited themselves. If military aspirants had modified the house of commons, so as to compass the execution of the king, to vote the house of peers useless, and to pass a number of corresponding measures, the general tendency of which was to subvert everything that was good, as much as to remove the evils of the old system; no wonder that the Scots, who had encountered so many struggles, and made so costly sacrifices for the sake of their constitution, took the alarm. But while they were decidedly opposed to the republicanism of England, and strongly inclined to monarchy, their attachment to the king was always tempered with an enlightened regard to the best interests of their country and church, and it was not on this account the less pure and estimable.

Before inviting Charles to the throne of their kingdom, the Scottish parliament evinced a laudable concern for the rights of the nation, by adopting every precaution that was necessary for the safety of that constitution and of those liberties on which they had set the highest value, and the interests of which they were solemnly bound to protect and to promote at all hazards. Knowing that the king's principal ad-

visers held the present parliament to be illegal, and would improve the first opportunity to dispute its authority, they enacted, "That before the king's majesty, who now is, or any of his successors, shall be admitted to the exercise of the royal power, he shall by and atour the usual coronation oath, assure and declare by his solemn oath, under his hand and seal, his allowance of the national covenant, and of the solemn league and covenant, and obligation to prosecute the ends thereof in his station and calling, and that he shall, for himself and his successors, consent and agree to the acts of parliament enjoining the same, and fully establishing presbyterian government, the Directory of Worship, Confession of Faith and Catechisms, as they are approved by the General Assembly of the kirk and parliament of this kingdom, in all his majesty's dominions: And that he shall observe these in his own practice and family, and that he shall never make any opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof." It was at the same time ordained, "that before the king should be admitted to the exercise of his royal power, he shall leave all counsel and counsellors prejudicial to religion and the covenants, and give satisfaction to his kingdom, as it is now constitute, in what further should be found necessary for the the settlement of a happy and durable peace, preservation of the union between the two kingdoms, for the good of the crown, and for his own honour and happiness; and should consent and agree that all civil matters should be determined by the parliament, and all ecclesiastical matters by the General Assembly of the kirk."

The above act has been much impugned on account of its severe stringency. One writer represents it as "constructed according to the wishes of such as were anxious the king might reject it."¹ "The terms," he observes, "are evidently such as left

¹ Aikman's Hist. of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 361, 362.

the king nothing but the name, and which nothing but extreme necessity could ever induce him to accept." An opportunity for the more full consideration of the subject, and of strictures similar to the above, will afterwards occur; meanwhile, let it be observed, that this enactment of the Scottish parliament is in perfect consistency with the constitutional principles of the kingdom at that time, and that a different course from what was then followed, would have betrayed an indifference or aversion to a cause, for the maintenance of which they had already done and suffered much, and to persevere in which they were bound by the most solemn pledges. Their commencement with the son is in the very same terms on which they had conducted and concluded negociations with the father.

Preliminaries being settled by the parliament, in concurrence with the church, Sir Joseph Douglas was, without delay, dispatched to the Hague, where Charles then was, to announce in form his proclamation, and to intimate to him that commissioners were speedily to follow, for the purpose of making known the conditions on which he could be promoted to the throne; and of adjusting a proper compact between him and his people. The commissioners were the earl of Cassillis, the laird of Brodie, Messrs Alexander Jaffray bailie of Aberdeen, and Robert Barclay provost of Irvine, from the state; Messrs Robert Baillie, and James Wood, ministers, and George Winram of Libberton, ruling elder, from the church.

Another remarkable proceeding of this parliament, claiming particular attention, is the act that was passed for the entire abolition of lay-patronage in the church. From the influence which patronage has long exerted, and still continues to exert in the church, and from the efforts and agitations frequently employed both for its maintenance and for its removal, the subject is one of common interest, and never has it been more so than at the present time. It is remark-

able how much the supporters of patronage have been disposed to overlook and consign to oblivion the anti-patronage act of 1649.¹ We are not informed particularly at whose instance, or by whose principal agency the measure was introduced to parliament, nor has any full report of its discussion been published. But there can be no doubt that it proceeded from the church, and that the measure was carried in accordance with the desires of her most distinguished office-bearers and members. By the advocates of patronage it has often been stated, and more frequently insinuated, that their favourite system has the support of the reformers in general, and of those of Scotland in particular; but seldom have assertions been hazarded more destitute of foundation, and at greater variance with incontestible facts. From the public documents and the private writings of the Church of Scotland, and most other reformed churches, it is very manifest that they agreed in regarding patronage as an abuse not to be tolerated in the light of the reformation. Our reformers longed for a day of deliverance; and although generally constrained by the force of circumstances to submit to its yoke, they evinced a repugnancy that may be regarded as amounting to a continued protest against it. It may well be wondered that with such explicit testimonies as are contained in their writings, they, in a period of most searching reform, were so long in clearing away an abuse which met them so frequently in the face, and in a matter of such sacred importance as the forming of the pastoral relation. It should not, however, be supposed that nothing was done until now for mitigating, and for ultimately removing a system so much calculated to deprave the christian church, and to prevent her efficiency. There is clear evidence that measures had repeatedly been adopted, by the

¹ Dr Cook does not mention it in his History of the Church of Scotland.

public authorities, for the restriction of patronage, and for preventing, as far as possible, the effects of its more absolute exercise. In 1646 an act was passed "anent non-covenanting patrons." It ordains "that such patrons as refuse to subscribe the solemn league, or as are excommunicated, have no right of presentation."¹ And another of a similar kind was passed in the reign of James VI.² But these enactments, although calculated to render the yoke more tolerable, were very far from being satisfactory, and they terminated in a measure of entire abolition, which, if improved as it should have been by the church, would have been an unspeakable boon to the cause of christian freedom.³ The civil enactment was as complete

¹ Act 16, Parl. 1646.

² Act 9, Parl. James VI.

³ The following extract from the preamble will be read with interest by the inquisitive on this subject: "Considering that patronages and presentation of kirks is an evil and bondage under which the Lord's people and ministers of this land have long groaned; and that it hath no warrant in God's word, but is founded only on the canon law, and is a custom merely popish, and brought into the kirk in time of ignorance and superstition; and that the same is contrary to the Second Book of Discipline, in which, upon solid and good ground, it is reckoned among the abuses that are desired to be removed, and unto several acts of Assemblies; and that it is prejudicial to the liberty of the people, and planting of kirks, and unto the free calling and entries of ministers into their charges; and the said estates being willing to promote and advance the reformation aforesaid, that everything in the house of God may be ordered according to his word and commandment, do discharge for ever hereafter all patronages and presentations of kirks, whether belonging to the king or to any laick patrons, presbyteries or others, as being unlawful and unwarrantable by God's word, and contrary to the doctrine and liberties of this kirk." It was also ordained, "that whosoever shall hereafter, upon the suit and calling of the congregation, after due examination of their literature and conversation, be admitted by the Presbytery unto the exercise and functions of the ministry of any parish, that the said person or persons, without a presentation by virtue of their admission, hath sufficient right and title to enjoy the manse," &c.

as could be desired by any reasonable opponent of the old system; and regulated on a principle of equity, it evinced a laudable respect to the civil rights of all parties. In a spirit of zeal for the best interests of the church, the act strongly condemns patronage as at variance with scripture, and entirely abolishes it as an abuse not to be tolerated in the christian church; it positively prohibits patrons from giving presentations, preachers from receiving them, and presbyteries from giving any farther countenance to a system, the abolition of which is so greatly to be desired. The act also recommends to the church to make every necessary arrangement for the purpose of ascertaining the mind of the people, and of preventing intrusion; stipends were secured to ministers elected on the popular principle, and patrons were allowed to possess their former right to the tithes of parishes. In the last mentioned case an arrangement was made for the security of those that had lawfully obtained leases of tithes.

Such a measure could not fail to promote the independence of the church, as well as to diminish the influence of the aristocracy, and, as might be expected, it met violent opposition from this quarter; so much so, that some of them, it is said, after protesting against the measure as most iniquitous, and altogether derogatory to the rights of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom of Scotland, left the parliament house; and there is reason to think that, but for the salutary operation of the act of classes, Argyll and Warriston, with the other advocates of reformation, would have failed in carrying their measure, and that the hopes of the christian people would have been blasted.¹ Such is the difficulty of reforming

¹ The following may be regarded as a curious specimen of the resistance made to the abolition of patronage, in 1649. "The parliament passed a most strange acte this monthe, abolishing the patronages of kirkes wich pertined to laymen, since euer christianity was planted in Scotland. Francis,

the church from inveterate abuses, pertinaciously maintained on account of their subserviency to worldly interests.

But the principal subject of public interest at this time was the success of the deputation which had been dispatched to the Hague to negotiate with the king. No means were neglected, that were deemed necessary, to predispose Charles to give the commissioners a favourable reception, and to lend a gracious ear to

earle of Balcleuche, and some others, protested against this acte, as wrangous and altogider derogatory to the just rights of the nobility and gentry of the kingdome of Scotland, and so departed the parliamente housse. Bot current was carried for the presbeteries and churche way, in respecte Argyle, the chanceler, and Arch. Johnston, the kirk minion, durst do no wtherwayes, lest the leaders of the church should desert them, and leaue them to stand on ther auen feeitt, wich, without the church, none of them could weill doe."

"This notable pranke, in effecte, resembles muche the 14 gravamen wich Germany did exhibit, Reg. car. 5, to Pope Adrian, amongst the abeses of the Roman see, that the pope and his legats usurped the right of patronage, belonging to the layicks, and dispensed them benefices vaccand to his favorites and abettors, contrary to law, right, and real possession, tyme out past all memory and prescription; wich wold prove in tyme the ruin of the Catholic Church; but by the wayes, wold sturre upe many enemies against the Roman Churche in doing so public an acte of injustice, quherin so maney persones (layaicks) were intressed.

"And this acte, to make it the more spetious, they colored it with the liberty of the people to choysse their auen ministers; zet the Generall Assembly holden at Edinbrughe in the mounthes of July and Agust, this same yeire, made a very sore mint to have snatcht this shadow from the peopple, (notwithstanding their former pretences), colationed the sole power one the presbeteries, and out-fooled the people of that right they formerly pretended did only and especially belong to them, *jure divino* as according to the new diuinity of thesse tymes till the acte was past, both the leaders and ther creture Johnston pleaded with all the forcible arguments wrested Scripture could produce to procure their aun ends and gratnes, wich tyme will not faill heirafter fnlly to discouer to a wronged posterity." *Balfour's Historical Works*, vol. iii. ad an. 1649.

their proposals. Mr Robert Baillie embraced the earliest opportunity of corresponding upon the subject with his friend Mr William Spang, minister of the Scots congregation at Campvere, and of soliciting his good offices with Dr Rivet, and others, supposed to have great influence upon the mind of the king. After informing him of their anxiety to persuade the king to take the covenant, and give the most satisfactory pledges of his attachment to the established church, Baillie earnestly recommends it to Spang "to bestir himself in a private clancular way to further this work. If," says he, "your or any other man's labours be blessed of God to work the present, you will find all here (I shall answer for it) ready to acknowledge, as becomes your pains, by such testimonials, in due time, as shall give you satisfaction. What you do must be done quickly; for every hour prejudgeth (we know not how much) his majesty, and all his dominions."¹

The conduct of Mr Spang, in the present critical juncture, is certainly deserving of the highest praise; and it imposed considerable obligations, not only upon his esteemed correspondent, but also upon his native country. Instead of applying to such men as were recommended, who, however deserving, were but of second rate influence, he contrived to obtain an interview with the Prince of Orange, who, being the brother-in-law of Charles, was, on many accounts, more likely to serve his purpose than any other. In order to perform his delicate and difficult service in the best possible manner, Spang was at very great pains to inform himself respecting the present posture of counsels suggested to the king's majesty, and the reasons of them. And he soon discovered that Cottington, Andover, Culpepper, and Hyde, four English counsellors that had been particularly recommended to Charles by his late father,

¹ Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. 316.

advised him to go directly to Ireland. The duke of Montrose was of the same mind, and most strenuously resisted every proposal of accepting the support of the Scots. The arguments by which the counsellors endeavoured to obtain the king's compliance were well chosen, and in many respects very congenial to his royal inclinations. They represented those at the head of affairs in Scotland, at that time, as equally destitute of the will and of the power necessary for enabling him to ascend the throne of his kingdom, and to secure the subjection of his people. It was maintained, that the design of those who were most active in forwarding kind invitations to go over to Scotland, was to put themselves in possession of his royal person, for the purpose of either compelling him to submit to their own terms, or of delivering him up to the English rebels in the manner they had treated his father. Their counsels were thus artfully addressed to his fears, and to his tenderest feelings; and although their arguments were utterly unfounded, and their representations false and delusive, they were certainly fitted to make a deep impression on the mind of Charles, already full of prejudice and revenge, and of the worst prepossessions against those now holding the chief authority in the kingdom. Had they succeeded in persuading him to go to Ireland, their next object would have been to collect as great an army as possible of royalists and Roman Catholics, and then to invade Scotland, for the perpetration of atrocities similar to what had lately been committed by Montrose; or perhaps a massacre like that of Ireland might have been the result of their projected invasion. But the counsel of Ahithophel was defeated by that of Hushai the Archite. And the advice of the English counsellors, and of Montrose, was successfully frustrated by another party that had come over from Scotland, and also possessed great influence. Lauderdale, Callender, and Lanerk,

strenuously insisted that his majesty ought at once to reject the above proposals as "bloody," and dangerous to be entertained; that his safest and most successful way was to go directly to Scotland; and in order to gain the confidence of his people, that he should, in the mean time, consent to the proposals of the presbyterians. This is the resolution Mr Spang was most earnest to support, and to carry into effect. In the prosecution of his undertaking Mr Spang next endeavoured to know the mind of the prince of Orange, and, if possible, to obtain an interview with his Highness. And here he was delighted to find everything so promising that he was encouraged to proceed. By the kindness of one of his own countrymen, he was speedily introduced to the prince, obtained a favourable reception, and enjoyed the fullest liberty in a conversation which was continued about an hour.

In a letter to Mr Baillie, Spang has given a pretty full account of all that passed; and as it contains a very interesting exhibition of the state of public opinion, both in Scotland and in Holland, it is necessary to give some account of it.

Mr Spang introduced his subject to the prince, by lamenting the death of his late majesty; declaring how much it was abhorred by the church and kingdom of Scotland, whose covenants and general proceedings provide, in the most explicit terms, for the safety of their king; he intimated the proclamation of the Prince of Wales, declaring with what cordiality the Scots were disposed to receive him, and he stated with all plainness their anxiety to save him from such evil counsellors as had proved ruinous to his royal father, and might soon involve him in similar difficulties. "In order to gain their laudable ends," said he, "they have given me orders to deal with all who could contribute any thing to its advancement, and that I could look upon none, from whom I could expect more good, than his Highness, who, by being

instrumental therein, would gain greater honour than by gaining towns."

The Prince of Orange replied in terms full of goodness, and very expressive of the satisfaction he felt from the respect shown to him as a friend to the cause of religion, a cause he would ever count it his honour to promote. He also evinced a becoming concern for the young king, exposed, as he was, to so many evil and perplexing counsels; and he strongly condemned the conduct of such protestants as would trust more to "a papist than to a protestant who minded truly." "And if ever," Spang interjected, "any state *minded truly*, it is our present state;" proving his assertion from the promptitude of the proclamation, and those other proceedings in espousing, at all hazards, "the king's cause, if he first will espouse God's cause."

"But what," rejoined his Highness, "may be expected from the ministers?" Having heard of their strictness, and of their great influence in the kingdom, he seemed to entertain considerable suspicion respecting them. But Mr Spang assured him, "that whatsoever any prince can expect of good subjects, that may our king expect at the hands of the ministers, if he employ his power for the honouring of God; and that all the power they have in the hearts of the people will be for the king's advancement." After expressing some scruples about what he regarded as "great preciseness" among the ministers of Scotland, the prince proceeded to what appeared the most insurmountable difficulty, viz., the conditions requiring the king's acceptance of the covenant, before his promotion to the throne. Mr Spang explained the subject, and presented it in a manner so lucid and convincing, that his Highness seemed to entertain no doubt that the king would willingly subscribe the national covenant; but he had much greater fears about the solemn league. For his own part he saw no valid reason for rejecting the one more than the

other; but he was afraid the king's counsellors would prevent him from doing what would be very offensive to those, and many of them were papists, in whom he had placed great confidence. The conversation is by far too long for being here fully inserted, but no one can peruse it without feeling a respect for the wisdom and fidelity of the christian minister on the one hand, and for the exemplary patience, considerate candour, and pacific dispositions of the prince on the other. Both spoke with the utmost freedom on the most delicate points; the prince stated in the plainest and mildest terms, the objections of the king's party to the proceedings of the Scots against malignants; and he was answered in a manner that was not only creditable to Mr Spang, but calculated to vindicate the character, and assert the claims of the church and nation, whose cause he had undertaken to promote. And it must have been very gratifying to them all, to find one of such rank and influence with the king, so well affected to their cause, as the Prince of Orange had now declared himself to be.

Having expressed his desire that some of the ministers should be included in the deputation from Scotland, his Highness concluded in these encouraging terms, "Ye may confidently assure them that I shall do my utmost endeavour; and come ye to me to-morrow, and I shall tell you what you may expect."

Agreeably to the prince's invitation, Mr Spang waited upon him on the following day, and was informed by his Highness, "that he had made it his work yesternight to persuade the king's majesty; that the resolution was taken to satisfy the desires of the parliament of Scotland, and that in all haste letters were to be written of that in answer to what the king received."¹

In connection with the account of his interview with the Prince of Orange, Mr Spang informs his

¹ Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. 318-324.

esteemed correspondent, that the late proceedings in Scotland, against malignants, were condemned as too severe, by their best friends in Holland; and he urges the necessity of an alteration of the penal statutes, enacted against those who had been enlisted with the Duke of Hamilton, in the late enterprise against England. He gives it as his decided opinion, that unless the Scots would make some concessions, there could be no hope of the king being conciliated, or of the church and parliament being able either to assert their own rights, or have it in their power to be of any service to their sovereign. Forming his estimate of others excluded by the act of classes from public offices, from what he had observed in the conduct of Lauderdale, Lanerk, and Callender, whose influence with the king, he thought, was very much fitted to promote his own objects, Spang strongly recommended the repeal of the obnoxious act, and a general re-union of his majesty's friends against the common enemy. And it is very evident that his advice on these subjects had considerable influence in confirming the sentiments of Baillie, and his brethren in Scotland, respecting the propriety of admitting into parliament, and public offices, many that had been excluded.

While various proposals were being made to the king by different individuals, acting agreeably to their peculiar sentiments and party interests, Sir Joseph Douglas arrived at the Hague, and was followed by the deputation from Scotland. These commissioners were sent for the express purpose of stating the ardent desires of the nation for the king; but their whole instructions were so much characterised by the peculiarities of the presbyterianism of Scotland, by allusions to the covenants, and by lamentations for the national sins, in which the royal family was represented as peculiarly involved, that we can scarcely conceive conditions more obnoxious than those upon which the crown of Scotland was now offered to the young prince.

By his natural dispositions, education, companions,

and habits, Charles was strongly opposed to every thing the commissioners had to offer him except the crown. His whole history evinces a constitutional love of pleasure, a disposition to indulge in profaneness, and to seek his chief enjoyment in the society of persons whose sentiments and tastes were most congenial to his own. From his early youth his mind had been industriously and deeply imbued with the most extravagant ideas of the royal prerogative ; he had been taught to regard the order of bishops in the church as essential to the dignity and authority of the crown ; he would respect no religion that could not tolerate his vices ; and by her doctrine of indulgences and venial sins, as well as by all that his mother had taught him, we may believe that the church of Rome was not a little endeared to his affections. Nor could any thing be more hateful to him than the ecclesiastical discipline at that time practised in Scotland, except the covenants, which the deputation had to urge principally upon his reception. He well knew how much his late father had been opposed to these engagements, and what he had suffered rather than submit to them. In the sermons he was accustomed to hear, the covenants were represented as infernal leagues, equally fitted to subvert the throne and to desecrate the altar ; and the covenanters were treated as persons deeply implicated in the death of his father. The king was surrounded by his friends from England and from Scotland, who, although divided into parties, and animated by the most deadly hostility to each other, were all, and even the best of them, opposed to the principles upon which the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Scotland, at that time, set the highest value. The Prince of Orange might speak more favourably of the covenants, and unite with Lauderdale and others in persuading the king to temporize, in order to obtain the crown of Scotland and the assistance of the Scots against England ; but neither he nor any other of Charles'

advisers would recommend a cordial and unqualified acceptance of the overtures to be presented to him. The most of his friends and advisers were strongly opposed to any such terms as those of the deputation. Montrose had come to receive from his majesty testimonies of gratitude for the signal services he had already rendered to the royal cause in Scotland; and, full of his own importance, that officer confidently expected,—and it soon became too evident that his hopes were not unfounded,—the highest preferment in an enterprize, the object of which was to compel the kingdom to abandon the best interests of the church and state, and to give no quarter to the statesmen, and ecclesiastics, and others of every grade, who had distinguished themselves in the cause of liberty and religion. Such was the society in which the Scottish commissioners found the young king, and such were the topics discussed, and the sentiments entertained among his courtiers, when they commenced negotiations concerning the terms of his admission to the highest office and honours their country had to confer. It is most evident that his treaty with them was a political intrigue, for the purpose of preparing himself for the suppression of the very cause they had been commissioned to support; and that never were men delegated upon a business from which less good could have been expected. But the good men composing the deputation, conscious of the righteousness of their cause, as well as of the purity of their motives, and confiding in the promises of the Hearer of prayer, were not disposed to desist. In the midst of darkness and danger they proceeded to the discharge of the important duties devolved upon them.

By the arrival of Sir Joseph Douglas, the king was correctly apprized of the spirit in which the commissioners would address themselves, as well as of their preliminary demands. His majesty had also received a letter from the commission, in which, after expressing the regard they had entertained for his

late father, and their inexpressible abhorrence of the “unparalleled proceedings against his person and life;” they cheerfully acknowledged his majesty’s right of succession to the throne of the three kingdoms, and promised to offer up fervent supplications in his behalf, and for the good of his subjects. The manner in which they spoke of the late confusions, and the public calamities, must have been very offensive to his majesty. “It hath been the cunning of the popish, prelatical, and malignant party to traduce presbyterial government and the solemn league and covenant as destructive to monarchy; and with so much wit and industry they manage those calumnies, that your royal father, to our exceeding grief, was kept at a distance from these things in his judgment that do much concern the kingdom of Jesus Christ.” And what follows would be read with still stronger sentiments of aversion: “In the name of the Lord Jesus,” say they, “we counsel that you would not only shut your ears against calumnies, but avoid the company and shun the counsels of the ungodly, who study to involve your majesty’s interest; and that your majesty would avoid all temptations and snares that accompany youth, and humble yourself under the mighty hand of God, and seek him early, and labour to have your senses exercised in his word; and that your majesty would establish presbyterial government and the solemn league and covenant, and employ your royal power for promoting and advancing the work of uniformity of religion in all your majesty’s dominions.”¹ We leave the reader to conceive in what manner the king and his profane courtiers would entertain such a letter; and what would be his majesty’s anticipations respecting all that was to succeed such preliminaries. But by all that have obtained wisdom to hallow spiritual and sacred things, the letter will be highly appreciated for its piety and for

¹ Baillie’s Letters, ii. 330.

its frank and salutary admonition ; but such communications are always received according to the dispositions as well as the discernment of those to whom they are addressed.

The deputation arrived at Rotterdam on the 22d day of March, and after remaining there a short time they proceeded to Delft, where they observed a day of fasting, and spent the Sabbath in devotional exercises in their own lodgings. In the beginning of the week they repaired to the Hague, and on the following day presented themselves at court, where they met with a very gracious reception. The Earl of Cassillis addressed his majesty in name of the parliament, and Mr Baillie in name of the church. Their speeches were in unison with what the king had already received by the commissioner's letter, but he listened to them with a composure apparently respectful, which was duly appreciated by the members of the deputation. The loss of Henderson was very much deplored by the friends of the church at this time. "Oh," was their lamentation, "we miss now that precious servant of Christ, Mr Alexander Henderson ; he would have been a man for this purpose." Baillie can scarcely be reckoned a leader in the promotion and defence of the reformation cause, yet he inherited much of the piety and attachment to principle that distinguished the reformers, and he united a high respectability for learning and general excellence with such moderation as enabled him to gain the favourable opinion of the king. His greatest weakness seems to have been a disposition to fawn upon the great, to make too much of any attentions his majesty shewed him, and to put a more favourable construction upon any word or deed of the men he had at this time to do with, than their general conduct could warrant.¹

¹ The following is a copy of Mr Baillie's speech to the king at their first interview :

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,—In these very sad and calami-

Having finished their first interview with his majesty, the Scottish commissioners were on the same day introduced to the Queen of Bohemia, the Princess Royal, the Prince of Orange, the Princess Dowager, and the States General. Whatever was the undercurrent of sentiment with which these royal personages contemplated the representatives of the covenant, all was smooth on the surface, and there was

tous times, the Church of Scotland hath sent some of us who are here, ministers and ruling elders, and others who are yet behind in commission, to your majesty, to declare in their name, not only the sincere grief of the whole church for your majesty's most lamentable afflictions, but also their real and great joy for your majesty's succession to the throne, and their confident hopes, by the blessing of the Most High on your royal person and government, now at last to come out of that pit of grievous confusions, calamities, fears, and dangers, wherein long they have been sinking.

"According, therefore, to this our trust, we do declare, what in our breasts often we have felt, and generally in the people among whom we live have seen with our eyes, a mournful sorrow for that execrable and tragick parricide, which, though all men on earth should pass over unquestioned, yet we nothing doubt but the Great Judge of the world will arise and plead against every one, of what condition soever, who have been either authors, or actors, or consentors, or approvers, of that hardly expressible crime which stamps and stigmatizes with a new and before unseen character of infamy the face of the whole generation of sectaries and their adherents, from whose hearts and hands that vilest villany did proceed.

"We do also profess, in the name of those who have sent us hither, the great joy of all sorts of men in our land, for the immediate filling up of the vacant throne with your majesty's most gracious and hopeful person, earnestly praying that the light of the Lord's countenance may shine so bright upon your majesty's reign, that the very thick clouds of our present dangers and fears may flee away, and a new moving may spring up, to all your three kingdoms, of greater peace and prosperity, of more righteousness and virtue, especially of more religion and piety, than hath been seen in the days of any, the most pious, the most just, the most prosperous of all your numerous ancestors," &c.—*Baillie's Letters*, ii. 333–334.

nothing apparent of a tendency to awaken their apprehensions. But the deputation could not dwell long with his majesty in mere expressions of condolence, congratulation, affection, and hope; it behoved them to proceed to the more direct object of their appointment. And as a necessary preliminary, the parliamentary commissioners gave in a petition requesting the speedy removal of James Graham (they would not style him Duke of Montrose) from his majesty's company and counsels. No petition could have been more fitted to inflame the king's displeasure than this; and had he been sure that Montrose could implement his promises, he would have decidedly preferred his counsels and support to anything the deputation could do for him. But, meanwhile, he restrained his feelings; and under his own hand returned an answer, "desiring and expecting all their propositions together, and he hoped to be able to return a satisfactory answer." The whole deputation then united in remonstrating with his majesty on the reasonableness of their request, from the notorious cruelties Montrose had perpetrated in Scotland, and from the high pitch of public feeling there entertained against him; but so strong was his majesty's secret attachment to his favourite, and so many and powerful were his friends at court, that it was vain to expect that any petition for his expulsion would be successful. Obligated either to stop short at the very threshold, or to proceed in the manner required, the commissioners on the following day delivered to his majesty the National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Directory, the Confession of Faith, the Catechism and the propositions for government, bound in a style that at once indicated their high estimate of the documents, and a profound respect for the royal personage for whom the volume was prepared. They recommended the subjects as deserving of his most dispassionate, grave, and candid consideration, and earnestly solicited as frequent opportunities

of conversing with him, and of making mutual explanations, as possible. Baillie commends the king for his "very sweet and courteous dispositions," and he pathetically laments the evil counsels to which his majesty was exposed. The progress of negociations was greatly retarded, and the hopes of ultimate success rendered more doubtful, by false reports, artful misrepresentations, and scurrilous pamphlets, industriously circulated in Holland against the spirit and conduct of the Scots. "There is a very evil generation of English and Scots here, who vomit out all their evil humour against all our proceedings." Exposed to so many hostile influences, and subjected to the necessity of acting in so many points on the defensive, the situation of the commissioners must have been very unpleasant; and after remaining for months without success, and with prospects not improving, it is no wonder that they became willing to return and to wait for a more favourable opportunity. The king shewed kindness to them, and produced too favourable an impression on the minds of some of them. "He is," says Baillie, "one of the most gentle, innocent, well-inclined princes, so far as yet appears, that lives in the world; a trim person and of a manly carriage; understands pretty well; speaks not much; would to God he were amongst us." And, "if God would send him amongst us without some of his present counsellors, I think he would make, by God's blessing, as good a king as Britain saw these three hundred years."¹ But with all his princely bearing and pleasing words, Charles did not in any degree accede to the main proposals made to him. The most sanguine of the commissioners felt it necessary to qualify his faint expressions of the hopeful, with "*yet I dare not promise so much;*" and, "all here, even our best friends, will be for a greater mitigation of the severe acts of parliament than will be

¹ Baillie's Letters, ii. 334, 335.

granted in Scotland." At length the king was induced by his counsellors, and by the exaggerated reports of the success of his supporters under Ormond in Ireland, to go to that country for the purpose of preparing for the conquest of Scotland. He also gave a commission to Montrose; and the Scottish commissioners returned to their country on the 11th of June, without being able to give any satisfactory information concerning the purposes of their prince.

The English parliament observed with a jealous and vigilant eye the proceedings of the Scots in proclaiming the young king, and in dispatching commissioners to pave the way for his induction. In order, if possible, to frustrate their negociations and to cultivate a good understanding with the Dutch, Dorislaus was dispatched to Holland as English ambassador. This individual had, by taking part in the management of the criminal process against the late king, rendered himself very obnoxious to the principal favourites of his royal successor. He soon fell a victim to their resentment; for on the very first night after his arrival at the Hague, he was murdered in his own chamber by twelve disguised and reckless cavaliers, who, rushing in upon the unsuspecting object of their malice, while at supper, with drawn swords killed him upon the spot. These ruffians were most of them retainers of Montrose; and their conduct at this time evinced how much they inherited of the reckless daring of their chief. It is too evident, from the history of the period, that this was not a solitary instance of the desperate, deliberate assassination practised by the adherents of the same party: for it had become not uncommon among them to vindicate such atrocities, and even to glory in them as feats of heroism. In the case of Dorislaus, however, the daring outrage of the law of nations was keenly felt by the parliament and states of Holland; and so inquisitive and strenuous were the efforts made to bring the murderers to justice, that the young king, feeling his situa-

tion neither very comfortable nor safe, left the country and sought refuge in France.¹

While the estates of parliament and the commission of the General Assembly waited with the utmost anxiety to hear the result of the negotiations with the king, a number of the royalists, who were ever on the alert to improve the first opportunity of testifying their devotion to the cause of their master, created a mutiny in the garrison of Stirling; and others in the north having erected their standard, made themselves masters of Inverness. The northern insurrection was made principally by the Highland clans M'Kay and M'Kenzie, under the command of lieutenant-general Middleton. But the attempt was in every respect premature and ill concerted; and after possessing for a short time some of the most northern districts, the insurgents were completely routed by a party of the parliament's army under the command of colonel Kerr, and lieutenant-colonels Hackett and Strachan. Nearly a hundred of the highlanders were killed, and more than seven hundred were taken prisoners, including Lord Rea, with his principal officers, and a number of other gentlemen, who were conducted to Edinburgh, and committed to prison. The rest surrendered on condition of their lives and properties being spared.²

In consequence of the success that crowned the arms of the militia at this time, and also of the defeat of the Duke of Hamilton's army the preceding year at Preston, the commission of the General Assembly appointed a day of public thanksgiving to be observed in all the parishes of the kingdom; and as an evidence of the spirit with which the clergy endeavoured to enter into the appointment, we are told that Messrs Makgill of Largo and Moncrieff of Scoon both preached on the beautiful encomium which Moses pronounced

¹ Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. 352.

² Lamont's Diary, p. 4.

upon Israel, as shielded by the Almighty, and made triumphant over every enemy.¹

In the course of the same year the estates of Parliament, in concert with the commission and courts of the church, evinced a laudable desire for the safety of the constitution, and for the suppression of vice. A number of acts were passed for the purposes of protecting the Sabbath, of inflicting salutary restraints upon those guilty of disobedience to parents, of repressing blasphemy and a number of evils. Some of these measures, as the act against witchcraft, have not only been exposed to the ridicule of later and more scientific times, but have been resorted to by infidels and scoffers for the purpose of exposing the reformers and reformed religion to public contempt. Such, however, as consider magistrates to be a divine ordinance for the "punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well," making allowances for the peculiar state of science as contrasted with its greater advancement in the present time, will, without pledging themselves to defend every enactment, highly approve of the general tenour of legislation then practised, and regard it as marked with a deference to the Supreme Governor, and to the Saviour of men, that may well put the infidelity and the scepticism of many of our senators to shame.

But the act which created the greatest sensation, was one passed on the 21st of June, the object of which was the purgation of the army. It may be regarded as an enlargement of the act of classes that had been made in the beginning of the same year, for "purging the judicatories and other places of public trust." The two acts were in their objects and spirit nearly allied to each other. The first was intended for excluding from public offices in the country all

¹ Deut. xxxiii. 29. "Happy art thou, O Israel, there is none like unto thee, a people saved by the Lord," &c.

such as were known to be hostile to the covenants, and other reformatory proceedings in church and state; the other referred solely to the army; and the immediate design of both was to divest of all power such as had supported Huntly, Montrose, or Hamilton, in the late wars, which, if successful, would in all probability have issued in the suppression of all that had been done for the reformation of the church and kingdom since 1638. In the preamble to the act respecting the army, the estates of Parliament evince a deep sense of the great evils that had resulted from "the malignant insolencies of many in our armies;" and feeling their obligation, from solemn vows and professions, to employ every effort for "purging of judicatories and armies, and intrusting and employing none but such as are of known and good affection;" they gave commission to some in a number of shires to visit the troops respectively quartered among them, and to take particular cognizance of the character both of the commissioned officers and privates. Six articles were agreed upon respecting the officers, and the same number in regard to the soldiers. Besides those who had served under James Graham, and in the late engagement against England, all who were found "guilty of malignant and disaffected speeches, as railing against the cause and covenant, or against the ministry, or against the present civil government, were to be cashiered and put out of the army." Such officers as had refused "sufficient soldiers rightly qualified," and as had "taken money for them," and applied it either for their own private use, or given it to such as were hostile to the government, were to be "cashiered, imprisoned," and compelled to restore the double of what they had embezzled. The most stringent regulations were sanctioned for the purpose of carrying this act into execution, and no officer could, but at his peril, receive any one that had, according to it, been excluded.

Such a measure was certainly fitted to bear hard

upon the supporters of unlimited monarchy; and if their other reverses be taken into account, it will appear that their cause in the kingdom was at this time very much depressed. Both the covenanters in Scotland, and the sectarians in England, although divided about the king, agreed in endeavouring, each of them in their own way, to keep down the old ultra-royalists, and while Scotland had compelled Huntly to part with his head at Edinburgh in expiation of his crimes, England had, for the same end, made a similar demand upon the Duke of Hamilton. The fate of Hamilton is more fitted to awaken the regrets of those who know his character, than that of Huntly. He was by no means one of the most violent malignants, but had been induced to embark in a desperate cause, from the strength of his attachment to the royal family, more than from love to despotic government. Upon the scaffold he confessed his religion "to be that of the Church of Scotland; that he had ever been loyal to the late king, and wished well to his posterity; that none desired the peace of this and the other kingdom more than himself; that his invasion of England was from no treasonable or evil intent, but for the ends contained in the committee of estates' declaration; in the whole matter he had acted as the servant of parliament; that in that employment, next to the settlement of religion, the establishment of the king was his greatest aim; that he wished his blood, in order to the peace of the kingdom, might be the last that should be spilt; and that he had been often importuned to confess who had invited the Scots army to England, but had uniformly refused, though a confession would probably have saved his life."¹ Huntly had been all along very malignant against the covenanters; an out-and-out supporter of the most extravagant pretensions of royalty; and while he to the last professed himself an

¹ Lamont's Diary, p. 3.

episcopalian, the most of his family, "through the iniquity of the times, turned popish."¹

The meeting of parliament was still protracted in expectation of some return from the king requiring immediate consideration, and their vigilant attention was kept alive by constant reports of an invasion of the country from the English. The kingdom was at this time beset with difficulties. Besides the intestine strife of parties and the perilous exposure to the offended powers of England, there was great distress on account of the dearth of provisions and of the public burdens already imposed. The country was not in a condition that could enable it to support a new levy; nor could such an attempt fail to have called forth unequivocal demonstrations of the public displeasure. The parliament, too, was constantly annoyed by the complaints of a number of the western counties, on account of injustice in the imposition of heavier burdens of weekly maintenance upon them than upon others. By the importunity of Cassillis, Cessnock, Sir John Chiesly, and others, an act was passed, affording them a little relief at the expense of their neighbours on the east. Against this alternative the commissioners of Lothian and Fife protested, and were supported by many others in parliament, including Burleigh, Balcarras, Libberton, and Lothian. Failing in their endeavours to resist the measure, the remonstrants left the house in great displeasure. This contest, which lasted about two weeks, was at last adjusted in such a manner as to allow the west the benefit of the new enactment. A similar dispute occurred about the same time between the city of Edinburgh and a number of the burghs. From the population and wealth of the metropolis it was considered to be able to bear one half of the public burdens imposed on the whole burghs in the kingdom, while it had not

¹ Aikman's Hist. iv. 370.

been actually paying more than one twenty-seventh part. The complaining burghs obtained a redress from parliament similar to what had been given to the western counties, and it was productive of similar effects. The provost and council of Edinburgh were so highly offended, that, had there been any prospect of success, they would have resisted to the utmost. These, and other facts that might be mentioned, prove how sensitive the people were at this period on the point of public burdens; and they indicate the delicacy and the difficulty of any public movement requiring pecuniary and provisional support. Previous to the rising of parliament, Argyll, in a very awkward and abrupt manner, moved that a new address be presented to the king, while most of the members whose presence was desirable at the introduction of such a subject, were absent; and, without the least opposition, he actually carried his motion. Although it was never executed, as is often the case with such premature proceedings, it was very much to be regretted, for it exposed Argyll to suspicion, was calculated to shake the confidence of his friends, and afforded a favourable opportunity for the designing representations of his enemies.

The General Assembly met on the fourth day of July. Since its former meeting the Church of Scotland had sustained a great loss by the death of its distinguished moderator, Mr George Gillespie. His ardent piety, enlightened attachment to the Reformation cause, and eminent qualifications for extemporary discussion and debate, rendered him of the utmost consequence to the church courts. Such services as he was accustomed to perform were much needed at the time in which the General Assembly now met. Mr Blair was detained from the meeting on account of indisposition, occasioned by his travels and the severe treatment to which he had been subjected in England. From a list of five, including the principal names of the court, Mr Robert Douglas was chosen

moderator. Since the death of Alexander Henderson, Douglas had been respected as a leader in the church; in him were united the good principle, talent, and literature, if not the experience that qualify for the task of moderating such a court in difficult proceedings. The report of the commissioners now returned from the Hague was received with approbation; but the want of any decided or satisfactory answer from the king was a subject of serious complaint to some of the members. A considerable diversity of sentiment concerning the character of his majesty, and the propriety of entertaining hopes that he would yet cordially espouse the ecclesiastical reformation then settled, now became apparent, and may be regarded as a precursor of the lamentable division that was in a little time to take place in the Church of Scotland. Some members began to animadvert with considerable freedom on the strong and unqualified terms in which Baillie had, in his speech to the king, expressed his abhorrence of the conduct of the English sectaries against the late sovereign. And still greater offence was taken at other expressions that had been uttered by the same individual against the act of classes as too severe, and as yet necessary to be altered.¹ "For these things," says Baillie, "before the assembly sundry spake of me all their pleasure; yet I comforted myself in this, that I was far from the calumny imposed, and that all the wise men I knew professed their agreement with me in the things named."

The most painful and tedious part of the business before this assembly referred to malignants, among whom were reckoned all who were involved in the late engagement. It was found necessary to follow up the measures of parliament against these offenders with ecclesiastical censures. For this purpose an act was passed, "concerning the receiving of engagers in the late unlawful war against England, to public

¹ Baillie's Letters, ii. 237.

satisfaction, together with the declaration and acknowledgment to be subscribed by them." This measure may be viewed as the concurrence of the church with what had about a month before been enacted in parliament for the purpose of reforming the army. In their spirit and form the two acts very much resemble one another; and they exemplify that laudable co-operation of church and state in preserving and promoting, each in its own sphere, a common cause, which is at once so agreeable to scripture and reason, and has often proved of the greatest importance for the public good. After declaring how offensive the late invasion of England must be to God, and scandalous to his church, from its opposition to solemn engagements, and from its design to overthrow the existing reformed constitution, (and such was certainly the design of its most influential promoters), the act of assembly gives particular directions concerning the degrees of censure to be inflicted upon the different classes of offenders, and it enjoins the utmost caution against the imposition practised by such as make false professions of repentance, for the purpose of serving their own sinister ends. None were to be admitted "but such as after exact trial shall be found for some competent time before or after the offer of repentance, according to the discretion of the respective judicatories, to have in their ordinary conversations given real testimony of their dislike of the late unlawful engagement, and of the course and ways of malignants, and of their sorrow for accession to the same; and to live soberly, righteously, and godly." The declaration and acknowledgment to be subscribed is in fact a most solemn confession and covenant in perfect unison with the other documents of that day, and very expressive of genuine repentance.¹

¹ "I, after due consideration of the late war against the kingdom of England, and having also considered the course pur-

It is not very easy for a person, who has not had occasion for much inquiry on the subject, to understand the reason why the Church of Scotland proceeded to such severities against all who had countenanced the duke of Hamilton, or enlisted themselves into his army, and followed him into England for the purpose of rescuing the king from the hands of his enemies, and of resisting the revolutionary progress of the sectaries. From a slight view of the matter, one may be very much disposed to condemn the church and the parliament as too severe; and to think they must have certainly been animated more by prejudice

sued and promoted by the earl of Lanark, George Monro, and their adherents, in and about Stirling, and by others in the late rebellion in the north, against all which not only eminent testimonies of God's wrath have been given in defeating of them, but they were in themselves sinful breaches of covenant, and preferring the interest of man unto God. I do herefore, in God's sight, profess, that I am convinced of the unlawfulness of all those ways as contrary to the word of God, and to the solemn league and covenant, not only in regard of the miscarriages of those that were employed therein, but also in respect of the nature of these courses themselves; and therefore professing my unfeigned sorrow for my guilt, by my accession to the same, do renounce and disclaim the foresaid engagement, and all the courses that were used for carrying on the same, either before or after the defeat of the engagers, as contrary to the word of God, and solemn league and covenant, and destructive to religion and the work of reformation; and I do promise, in the power of the Lord's strength, never again to own any of these or the like courses; and if hereafter I shall be found to promote any malignant design or course, that I shall justly be counted a perfidious covenant-breaker, and despiser of the oath of God, and be proceeded against by the highest censures of the kirk. Likeas, I do hereby promise to adhere to the national covenant of the kingdom, and to the solemn league and covenant betwixt the kingdoms, and be honest and zealous for promoting all the ends thereof, as I shall be called thereunto of God, and to flee all occasions and temptations that may lead me into any the like snares against the same." Subscribed at ——— the day of ———.

and party spirit than by any pure and laudable attachment to good principle.

There can be no doubt, that a number of the best friends of civil and religious liberty were induced, from good motives, to encourage the duke, and either directly or indirectly to contribute their influence for his support. But the great question respects the design of the war, and the certain consequences of its success. Was it undertaken for the purpose of defending the public cause, which all ranks had sworn to maintain? or would not its success have been attended with the overthrow of an ecclesiastical constitution, upon which the presbyterians of Scotland set the highest value, and for the sake of which they had incurred very great expense? An answer to such inquiries is very manifest, from the character of those with whom the war originated, and by whom it was chiefly conducted. These were the high royalists encouraged by the king, and by all in the land who wished to restore to his majesty that absolute prerogative which the house of Stuart and its supporters regarded as the divine right of kings. Scotland had long been engaged with the king, in a contest concerning the limitations of the crown that are essential to the spiritual independence of the church, and in this struggle she had got a large body in England to join her. By his own ambition and bigotry, fanned by bishops and other flatterers, Charles I. had become so infatuated as to reject the reasonable petitions and remonstrances of his subjects, until one reverse after another had reduced him to the lowest extremity, and driven many of his opponents beyond all reasonable terms, as is equally evident from the principles they adopted, and the practices they exhibited. The presbyterians in neither kingdom had done this; they were professing to adhere to the solemn league, and they were zealous to preserve and to perfect that constitution, which they, by the good hand of the Most High upon them, had obtained. But when

the presbyterians of Scotland joined with Hamilton, they supported a movement which, if successful, would have unquestionably swept away the whole that had been done, agreeably to the solemn league, in England, and that would have terminated in the suppression of all that had been done for presbytery, since 1638, in Scotland. There was certainly cause to dread the English sectaries, particularly for the ascendancy they had gained in the English army, and the parliament of Scotland would not have refused to aid in an enterprise, the object of which was the imposition of every warrantable check upon them; but Hamilton's movements contemplated the conquest of the English presbyterians, as well as that of the wildest of the sectarians, and the support of it, being a violation of the brotherly covenant, was a crime to be punished by civil pains, and a scandal to be visited with ecclesiastical censure.

At the same time, it should be conceded that many had been deceived into a participation in that enterprise, from a fond hope, awakened by the fair professions of its leaders, that it would not endanger a constitution which they were solemnly pledged to support; and that this hope, blended with a tender compassion for their king, and a desire to resist the sectaries, prompted them to act the part they took in the matter. Such good-hearted and well-meaning individuals had certainly strong claims upon the leniency of the court. There was great danger of confounding them with men of a very different character, and of visiting a mistake with all the severity due to a deliberate and an intentional conjunction with the enemy against the reformation, and against brethren, with whom they had confederated for the maintenance of that cause.

It is not affirmed that in no case the church carried her censures against those that had been concerned in late wars, to an unwarrantable severity, much less is such severity defended, but it is confi-

dently maintained, that had the General Assembly, at this time, passed over the matter without investigation and without censure, they would either have betrayed a gross ignorance of palpable dangers, or great indifference about the public liberties they had solemnly pledged themselves to support. Nor is it easy to see how any legislative enactments, less searching or severe, could have served the purpose, or have been a sufficient guarantee against similar compliances with the enemy in future.

A number of ministers had exposed themselves to censure; some by their silence in reference to the late engagement, and others of them by a more direct concurrence with it. Impartial in their inflictions of censure, the church courts did not overlook the sinful compliances of her own members, but proceeded against those who were guilty; and a number of such cases came before the General Assembly. From the account Mr Baillie gives of the matter, it appears that he could not concur with his brethren in their proceedings against Messrs William Colville, Andrew Ramsay, and William Wilkie.¹ The law which had been passed the former year was so stringent, that a simple silence on the part of a minister in reference to the engagement, was to be visited with deposition. But it does not appear that any of them were even actually suspended who were not chargeable with a more aggravated concurrence.

The people were at this time in the utmost danger of deception in reference to their duty; many of them had already been seduced from their principles, and been prevailed upon to take part in measures of a perilous description. It was therefore necessary for the Assembly to publish a most particular and solemn warning to the nation at large. This document, which may be seen among the printed acts of the Church of Scotland, is too long for being here inserted in

full ; yet it is so important in itself and so indicative of the true spirit of the period, that it must not be passed over. The address is entitled, " A seasonable and necessary warning and declaration, concerning present and imminent dangers, and concerning duties relative thereto from the General Assembly of this kirk unto the members thereof." It commences by adverting to the many trials with which the Lord, " who chooses in the furnace of affliction," had been pleased to visit them since the reformation ; it represents in striking terms, the late engagement against England as the work of a " party of disaffected malignant men," proceeding upon false pretences, and it declares that as the engagement was an occasion of unfeigned sorrow to such as " desired to keep a good conscience," so its failure was to be regarded as a deliverance for which they are bound to be thankful to the God of their mercies. The many invaluable privileges and means of grace conferred upon the land are contrasted with the malignity and the innumerable evils which then prevailed among all ranks, and particularly in the army ; the proceedings of the English sectaries both in respect to religion and civil government are deeply deplored ; and the danger of others, and particularly of our own countrymen, imbibing such principles is clearly manifested. And although malignants in Scotland, be, it is said, " as foxes tied in chains," they are not in disposition less to be dreaded ; and there are powerful armies of them in Ireland, chiefly composed of Roman Catholics, under the marquis of Ormond and others, and the protestants of that country are again placed in the greatest jeopardy. It is stated as a matter of deep lamentation, that after all that had befallen his royal father, the king was so little disposed to grant " the just and necessary desires of the kirk and kingdom," and in his tender years, he was in the utmost danger of being ruined by evil counsels.

It is shewn how much it becomes a nation so

deeply involved in guilt and in its consequences, to humble themselves under the mighty hand of God, to implore his mercy to pardon, and to interpose for their deliverance, and how zealous and active they ought to be in performing every duty for the public safety.

The people are cautioned against the imposing and specious appearances "of holiness," assumed by the sectarian party, whose treatment of the covenants, of the parliament, and especially of the king, might be regarded as a sufficient indication of their true principles and character.

It is, however, expressly declared that the people were in still greater danger from malignants, and the utmost vigilance is inculcated in regard to their movements. "We are not so to have the one eye upon the sectaries, as not to hold the other upon the malignants." From their presence, numerical strength, and the plausibility of the arguments they employed, the malignants were much more likely to prevail with the people of Scotland, and their success was not likely to be less fatal to the interests of the reformation, than that of their southern adversaries. The leanings of the king to the same kind of counsels and lines of conduct that had proved fatal to his father, are deeply lamented, and the most fervent prayers in his behalf are recommended to the Christian people of the kingdom. If he would acquiesce in the reasonable proposals of accession to the throne made to him, all ranks were encouraged to give him a most cordial reception, and to render him all legal submission.

But while our ancestors were attached to the king, they did not neglect the paramount claims of the constitution; nor did they hesitate to declare, that if any should attempt to set up his majesty by force, and without respect to the present laws and government, it would be their duty to resist such violence as dishonouring to God, and ruinous to the na-

tion. The following passage is so clear and decided on this subject, that the reader will, it is presumed, willingly receive it at length. "But if his majesty, or any having, or pretending power and commission from him, shall invade the kingdom upon pretext of establishing him in the exercise of his royal power, as it will be an high provocation against God "to be accessory or assisting thereto, so will it be a necessary duty to resist and oppose the same. We know that many are so forgetful of the oath of God, and ignorant and careless of the interest of Jesus Christ, and the gospel, and do so little tender that which concerns his kingdom, and the privileges thereof, and do so much dote upon arbitrary and absolute government for gaining their own ends, and so much maligne the instruments of the work of reformation, that they would admit his majesty to the exercise of his royal power upon any terms whatsoever, though with even so much prejudice to religion and the liberties of these kingdoms, and would think it quarrel enough to make war upon all those who for conscience sake cannot condescend thereto." And in conclusion, the public mind is directed to those grand fundamental principles that essentially belong to every proper compact between a people and their supreme magistrate, and that are of inestimable importance from their subserviency to the interests of public liberty.

1. That as magistrates and their power are ordained of God, so are they in the exercise thereof, not to walk according to their own will, but according to the law of equity and righteousness, as being the ministers of God for the safety of the people. From this principle, evident as an axiom of mathematics, they conclude that a boundless and unlimited power is to be acknowledged in no king or magistrate, neither is our king to be admitted to the exercise of his authority, so long as he refuses to walk in the administration according to this rule and the established laws of the kingdom.
2. There is a mutual obligation and stipulation be-

twixt the king and the people, as both are tied to God, so each of them is tied to the other for the performance of mutual and reciprocal duties. And this is shewn to have been the practice in our own country from an act of the first parliament of James VI., settling the terms of the coronation oath by which the king is bound to act for the public good according to the word of God and the laws of the country.¹

3. In the league which hath been so solemnly sworn and renewed by this kingdom, the duty of defending and preserving his majesty's person and authority is joined with, and subordinate unto, the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdom; and, while his majesty stands in opposition to the just and necessary desires of his people concerning religion and liberty, it would be a manifest

¹ Dr Cook and Mr Aikman refer to those political maxims in terms of very high and just approbation. Nothing better could have been wished on the subject than the following remarks of the Doctor. "These are political principles which approve themselves to the feelings and the reason of man. When we compare this magnanimous address to the people, with the tame servility which has too often disgraced the clerical order, and when we contrast such energy in the cause of freedom, with the vile efforts to disgrace the human race by the horrors of despotism, we must feel gratitude to men who laid the foundation of that admirable political constitution, which has been erected by their posterity. How much cause was there before many years had elapsed, to deplore that the example of Scotland was neglected or forgotten; that, in the anxiety to escape from the varying intrigues of military jurisdiction, the monarch was replaced on his throne, without one stipulation to remind him that he was the minister of God for the happiness of his subjects."¹ But the Doctor does not apply these principles to the covenants and the other terms of accession proposed to the king at that time. He also entirely overlooks two of six things specified in this part of the address; the one of which refers to the covenants, and the other to the disaffection of the king.

¹ Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. iii. 182.

breach of the covenant, and a preferring of the king's interest to that of Jesus Christ, to bring him to the exercise of his royal power, which he, walking in a contrary way, and being compassed about with malignant counsels, cannot but employ unto the prejudice and ruin of both. 4. That arbitrary government and unlimited power are the fountains of all the corruptions in church and state. And it was for the purpose of imposing salutary restraints upon such power that all the covenants have been made, and the vast expense of blood and labour has been incurred for many years. 5. That, since the king is opposed to the reformation, and prefers the counsels of its greatest enemies, it is left to all impartial men to decide whether, if invested with unlimited power, he would not endeavour to reduce every thing respecting religion and liberty, "into that course and channel in which they did run under prelacy and before the reformation." This is what his father considered himself bound to do ; and that he adheres yet to his father's principles, and walks in his way, and hath made a peace with the Irish rebels, by which is granted to them the full liberty of popery. 6. It is no new thing for kingdoms to preserve themselves from ruin by putting restraint upon the exercise of the power and government of those who have refused to grant the things that were necessary for the good of religion and the people's safety ; there have been many precedents of it of old, and of late in this and other nations.

Such were the liberal and enlightened sentiments of the General Assembly in reference to the rights of the sovereign and the subject ; sentiments which have not been surpassed, in point of purity and patriotism, by anything that has since been propounded upon the subject. It was in defence of such principles that they covenanted, and, in spite of the most formidable opposition, adhered to their engagements.

In the conclusion of the address, public dangers

were most clearly exposed to the view of the parliament, the ministers, and the people at large. The duty of the parliament to adhere to their vows and to seek the things of Christ in preference to anything of their own, is faithfully stated. They are warned of the danger of admitting persons of evil principles into places of power and trust, and seriously exhorted to put their confidence, not in an arm of flesh, but in the power of God, and to exert themselves for the protection and advancement of their religion and reformation. And in consequence of many complaints and grievances on account of the oppressions by the "lawless exactions of landlords, collectors, and soldiers," they are exhorted in the name of the Lord to take particular cognizance of such cases. "It is the duty of every one that hath taken the covenant, willingly, and with a cheerful mind, to bestow their means and their pains as they shall be called thereunto in an orderly way; yet should those to whom God hath committed the government take care that they be not heedlessly burdened, and that none grind their faces by oppression, not only by making laws against the same, but by searching out of the cause of the poor, and by executing those laws timeously upon those that oppress them."

The soldiers, those public servants who have often been in a great measure overlooked by churches making high professions of zeal for religion, were seriously called to avoid those snares and temptations to which they were exposed; to consider themselves as engaged in behalf of the best interests of the nation; to be contented with their wages, and in all things to conduct themselves as becometh men professing christianity.

And ministers of the gospel are most impressively directed to the vigilant and faithful discharge of their duties. "But most of all, it concerns ministers of the gospel, whom God hath called to give warning to his

people to look to their duty. The evils that had of late depraved the church, crept in, "because of the negligence of some, and corruptions of others of the ministry. Whilst some fell asleep and were careless, and others were careless and ambitious, the evil man brought in prelacy and the ceremonies, and had far promoted the Service Book and the Book of Canons." When ministers were aroused to the performance of their duty by the good hand of God upon them, the work of reformation was begun. "If all the watchmen in the land shall give warning, and blow the trumpet at once, it shall not be easy for enemies to prey upon the people of God. We know no cause why any whom God hath called to preach the gospel should be afraid to speak boldly in the name of the Lord." The dangers and discouragements are exhibited in connection with the safety and abundant ground of hope revealed in the promises, and often communicated in a very seasonable and liberal manner in answer to the prayers of the church.

In the whole history of the church it would be difficult to find a pastoral address characterised by a more deep discernment "of the signs of the times, and what Israel ought to do." The whole texture of the document is replete with ardent piety, exalted principle, and the purest patriotism, illustrated in a vigilant vigorous opposition to public evils in all ranks, and in the warmest attachment to the best of causes, with the most stirring appeals to the human heart in behalf of those interests which ought to be regarded as of paramount importance, from their relation to the honour of the Most High and to the best interests of the human race.

In consequence of the act of parliament abolishing patronage, it became necessary for the General Assembly to make some arrangement respecting the mode of pastoral election to be practised in the church. But while they were in no doubt of the expediency or of the necessity of removing a yoke

that had been felt alike inconsistent with the freedom of the Christian people and with the spiritual independence of the church, it is very evident that they experienced considerable difficulty respecting the persons to be entrusted with the franchise, and their legitimate powers. The parliament had acted wisely, and it were well if others would imitate the example, in leaving the whole matter to the church, as a fit subject for the legislative enactment of an ecclesiastical court; but it must be surprising to all who have imbibed the principles of ecclesiastical freedom, to find that the men who had evinced so much sagacity in the other departments of reformation, were not better matured in their judgment and more harmonious in their sentiments respecting the mode of electing ecclesiastical office-bearers which is at once congenial to the spirit of Scripture and in unison with the first principles of society. There was, as yet, no party so deeply marked with moderatism as to advocate the old system; for presbyterians had not commenced their defences of patronage. Nor could they be accused of party spirit; their proceedings rather resembled persons taken by surprise; and each of the principal speakers seemed to contend for some undigested theory of his own. It was not a cold and indifferent discussion, for it was managed with great keenness; but no one could introduce a measure of such a kind, and recommend it with such evidence and energy as were necessary to command a general acquiescence. And there is reason to think, that their want of harmony and decision at that period, has been productive of the worst results to the cause of Christian liberty ever since. Had they, with promptitude and harmony, conferred the elective franchise upon the male communicants, or even upon the heads of families, and had they been allowed to give the popular system a fair trial, they would in all probability have furnished such an example of its success, as might, more than any

other, have afterwards served the purpose of preventing the interminable clamour of semi-erastians in church and state, about "the ebullitions of popular excitement, and the endless divisions inseparable from popular election." But it will be expected that we be more particular in narrating the proceedings of the Assembly in reference to this interesting subject.

"We," says Baillie, "had the greatest debate about the election of ministers." Mr David Calderwood contended, from the Second Book of Discipline, that the election ought to be given to the presbytery, and a power of dissent allowed to a majority of the people, who were bound to assign such reasons for their dissent, as should be found satisfactory to the presbytery. Wilson, Rutherford, and Wood, contended for the election to the body of the people as distinguished from the eldership. But the greatest number were favourable to the mode of Gillespie as published in his Miscellanies,—that the direction belongs to the presbytery, the election to the session, and consent to the people. A number of draughts were offered embodying the various and conflicting theories of the leading members, and something was at length settled of a kind fitted to unite all, while it fully satisfied none. Calderwood strongly protested against it, and Baillie says,¹ "already we find the defeat of our act; for as I conceive, and expressed it so in my draught, so much direction is due to presbyteries, that they ought to recommend to the session men to be elected, without prejudice of their liberty to add whom they think fit; but I find in the design now of leading brethren, that the presbyteries shall not meddle at all with any recommendations, but leave that wholly to any particular busy men in the presbytery, to whisper in the ear of some leading men of the parish to get voices to any young man,

¹ Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. 340.

though never heard in privy exercise, that by desires of the people to the presbytery, he may be put on trials for such a church."¹

With all its defects, the new law is, in respect of principle, far superior to lay patronage in its most restricted form. The election of ministers was claimed by the church, and regarded as belonging to her peculiar power; and it was no longer to be exercised as an acquirement of wealth or a distinction of rank. But it evidently confers an undue influence upon the session and the higher ecclesiastical courts, and it could not fail to create jealousies and unseemly demonstrations of discontent among the people. Had the elders been freely chosen by the people for the purpose of electing their pastors, in addition to the duties commonly devolved upon them, the system would have been less exceptionable; but elected, as

¹ The following is a copy of the directory then agreed upon for the election of ministers: "When any place of the ministry of a congregation is vacant, the presbytery is with all diligence to send one of their number to preach in that congregation, and represent to them the necessity of providing a fit pastor, and to exhort them to fervent prayer and supplication to the Lord that he would send them a pastor according to his own heart. As also he is to signify that the presbytery, out of their care of that flock, will send unto them preachers whom they may hear, and if they have a desire to hear any other, they will endeavour to procure them a hearing of that person or persons on an application of the elders to the presbytery. 2. Within some competent time thereafter the presbytery is again to send one or more of their number to the said vacant congregation on a certain day appointed for that effect, who are to convene and hear sermon on the said day; which being ended, and intimation being made by the minister that they are to proceed to the election of a minister for that congregation, the session of the said congregation shall meet and proceed to the election, the action being moderated by him that preaches; and if the people shall, upon the intimation of the person agreed upon by the session, acquiesce and consent to the said person, then, the matter being reported to the presbytery by commissioners sent from the session, they are to pro-

they were, chiefly by the session, they were exposed to all the corrupting influences of a self-elected body, and whether justly chargeable with it or not, they could seldom escape the suspicion of preferring their own interests to those of the public. The influence of the English sectarians in the country, and especially her own unhappy divisions, prevented the Church of Scotland from making any fair trial of the new law by the test of experience, and from introducing those improvements which, in all probability, would have soon been found necessary.

The Assembly evinced a becoming anxiety about the state of their brethren in England who, in consequence of the dominion of the sectarians, were exposed to many trials and temptations. Believing the solemn league and covenant to be constructed on the principles of reason, and to be sanctioned by the precepts, promises, and approved examples of Scripture, regarding it as peculiarly seasonable, from the perilous circumstances of the three kingdoms, and particularly of England, at the time it was entered into, and convinced that it was laudable in its objects

ceed to the trial of the person thus elected, and, finding him qualified, to admit him to the ministry in the said congregation. 3. But if it happen that the majority of the congregation dissent from the person agreed upon by the session, in that case the matter shall be brought into the presbytery, who shall judge of the same, and if they do not find their dissent to be founded upon causeless prejudices, they are to appoint a new election in manner above specified. 4. But if a minority of the session or congregation shew their dissent from the election without exceptions relevant and verified to the presbytery, notwithstanding thereof the presbytery shall go on to the trials and ordination of the person elected; yet all possible diligence and tenderness must be used to bring all parties to a harmonious agreement. 5. It is to be understood that no person under the censure of the kirk, because of any scandalous offence, is to be admitted to have any hand in the election of a minister. 6. When the congregation is disaffected and malignant, in that case the presbytery is to provide them with a minister.

and ends, the Church of Scotland had then no doubt of its binding and descending obligation, and that all the successes of their enemies, the reproaches and the persecutions with which they assailed such as adhered to it, could not dissolve its bond, or set free from its obligation any one belonging to the kingdoms that had entered into it. In consequence of this sacred league, the Church of Scotland felt herself more closely allied with England than she had ever been before, and under special obligations to sympathize with her brethren under the sufferings to which they were exposed. The reader will remember that England had joined with Scotland in espousing and in swearing to support the profession of religion published in the Westminster standards, and that before the presbyterian church had been fully settled in the country, or had fairly commenced operations, she was assailed by the sectaries, and her purposes were in a great measure frustrated, and her efforts defeated. Still, however, a goodly number in the country continued faithful to their engagements, and the General Assembly manifested their sympathy with them by an affectionate address.

It is entitled, "A Brotherly Exhortation from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to their Brethren in England." The paper expresses in affectionate terms the deep interest the Church of Scotland took in their brethren. The afflictions with which both kingdoms had been visited, and the dangers to which they were still exposed, are traced to their breach of covenant with God, and to the continued endeavours of malignants and sectarians against the cause which the kingdom had solemnly engaged to maintain. While the General Assembly disclaimed all connection with the late invasion of England, and condemned it, they assured their brethren, that, commenced and prosecuted merely by a malignant faction, "it could not be looked upon as a national breach." The manner in which the sympathy of the

Church of Scotland with the presbyterians in England is expressed, clearly indicates that they entered very deeply into their circumstances. "We," said they, "should conceive ourselves void of Christian affection and compassion toward those in England, who suffer for the truth and cause of God, if we were not very sensible of all their present troubles and calamities. It is no small grief to us that the gospel and government of Jesus Christ are so despised in that land, that faithful preachers are persecuted and cried down, that toleration is established by pretext of law, and maintained by military power, and that the covenant is abolished and buried in oblivion."¹

Such as had "forgotten the oath, and despised the covenant of God," are earnestly called to consider their ways, and to turn to their first works. With the highest and most imposing professions of liberality, and with an air of contempt for all that opposed them as the advocates of despotism, the sectaries showed themselves no less disposed to exert their newly-acquired influence for the promotion of their own peculiar views than others. Of this, the presbyterians had ample experience. "It is no good use of the Lord's mercy for such men, under pretext of liberty, to make both themselves and others slaves to corruptions, and to make all men, both in church and state, like the fishes of the sea or the creeping things that have no ruler over them." As might be expected, the sentiments of the Church of Scotland respecting the particular and permanent obligation of the covenants, occupy a prominent place in this paper. The most explicit terms are employed in expressing their deep sense of the covenant obliga-

¹ It would be easy to show that the supporters of the Solemn League were ardent friends, able and enlightened advocates of *toleration*, as denoting religious liberty, in the proper sense of the term; but they, with good reason, condemned the conduct of those who rejected the scriptural attainments in uniformity lately made, and that pled for equal countenance to all sects.

tions upon the kingdoms, and that the conduct of the majority in casting them from them could not render the duty less incumbent upon the minority. In contemplating this subject, the reader will not fail to be struck with the contrast formed between the sentiments of the Church of Scotland respecting the Solemn League and Covenant at this time, and those of the most of her professed reformers in the nineteenth century. Where now, it may well be asked, is the General Assembly that would employ the following terms in speaking of that sacred engagement? It requires an effort to identify the Assembly of 1649, with the present supreme judicatory of the Church of Scotland, when the zeal of the former is contrasted with the indifference and aversion of the latter, in reference to the covenants. It were well for our country, that all classes would direct their attention to this subject. "Although there were none in the one kingdom that did adhere to the covenant, yet thereby was not the other kingdom, nor any person in either of them, absolved from the bond thereof, since in it we have not only sworn by the Lord, but covenanted with him. It is not the failing of one or more that can absolve others from their duty or tie to him; besides the duties therein contained being in themselves lawful, and the grounds of our tie thereunto moral, though others do forget their duty, yet doth not their defection free us from that obligation which lies upon us by the covenants in our places and stations. And the covenant being intended and entered into as the best means of steadfastness for guarding against declining times, it were strange to say that the backsliding of any should absolve others from the tie thereof, especially seeing our engagement is not only national, but personal also, every one, with uplifted hands, swearing by himself, as is evident from the tenor of the covenant."

The address is concluded with the warmest expression of continued attachment to all in England, who

might be found adhering to the cause they had so solemnly espoused. As we have them "always on our hearts before the Lord, so we desire to be refreshed with their singleness and boldness in the cause of God according to their places." The abundant sources of consolation contained in the promises of the gospel, are suggested for their comfort under trial, and for their encouragement to constancy.

The education of the people was not overlooked by the General Assembly at this time. It was recommended to parliament that what had been given by parishes for the support of teachers, readers, or precentors previous to the establishment of the Directory for public worship, be still applied for the maintenance of sufficient schoolmasters and precentors who are to be approved by the presbytery. A collection was appointed in all the parishes, for "the maintenance of Highland boys at school," in lieu of forty shillings that each parish had formerly paid for the same purpose. And, sensible of the utmost caution in encouraging young men to prosecute the study of theology with a view to the ministry, the Assembly enacted, "that none be admitted as bursars of divinity, but pious youths, and such as are known to be of good expectation and approved abilities."

For a considerable time a new psalmody had been in progress, the same which is used by the Church of Scotland, and by most of Scottish dissenters at the present time, and the Assembly appointed the committee engaged with it, to proceed and endeavour to be prepared to shew it to the Commission at their meeting in November, in order to its speedy publication and introduction into the service of the church. Mr Rous had a principal hand in the preparation of this version, and in consequence of his late defection to the sectaries, some were doubtful of the propriety of its reception.¹ Since that period the Church of Scotland has, in va-

¹ Baillie's Letters, ii. 343.

rious instances, evinced a disposition to impugn and to alter her psalmody ; but no one has yet offered, or is likely soon to offer anything more excellent as a whole, than what has been prepared and transmitted to us by our fathers.

The frequency of transportations, was acknowledged to be a serious grievance, but there being an immediate necessity for a number of them, in order to supply the vacant chairs in the universities, and the vacant pulpits in Edinburgh, nothing was determined on the subject. A resolution was agreed to, for the publication of the history of the times ; and from a list of four, Mr John Livingston was appointed to prepare it. It is certainly much to be lamented that the task was not executed, for, in consequence of its failure, a most important period of our ecclesiastical history has been but little known by the people in general ; and not a few are ignorant of it whose acquaintance with other subjects is extensive and minute.

It was apprehended by many, and very much lamented by some, that the terms on which those who had been concerned in the late engagement were to be admitted by the church, were so stringent as to exclude many of high station and great influence in the country. But in order to escape from the disgrace they had incurred, and to qualify themselves for the important offices necessary to the execution of their personal and party purposes, it soon appeared that very few would regard the ecclesiastical censures and engagements in any aspect more serious than a passport of preferment. A number of the ministers felt much gratification by finding such men offering their submission to the Assembly, as Galloway, Linlithgow, Ogilvie, Innes, Cochrane, Kenmure, Fleming, &c.; and so sanguine was Baillie on the subject, that he says, "I do not expect now that above three or four persons in Scotland will make any scruple of that subscription." These submissions however were variously

estimated by the genuine friends of the reformation. Some, confiding in the good affection and sincerity of the persons offering their submission, regarded them with satisfaction ; while others, apprehensive of their sinister intentions, contemplated them with suspicion and alarm.

Committees were appointed to visit different districts of the country, with full powers to carry into effect the laws of the church upon ministers delated for scandal, or for their countenance to the campaign against England. There is reason to fear that some in the church, at this time, in their zeal for the public safety, did carry ecclesiastical censure too far, creating a reaction in the mind of others, by which they were in danger of being carried to the opposite and more dangerous extreme. "I acknowledge the disinclination of my mind to so frequent depositions of ministers, and to all causes that further that, to me so severe an action."

The public mind had for some months been kept in a state of painful suspense in reference to the king. The report from the Hague was anything but satisfactory; and there was certainly something very awkward in delaying the actual instalment of their prince, so long after they had proclaimed him king. The General Assembly, alive to the urgency of the case, did not close their meeting until they had given full proof of their fidelity in setting before him the path of duty. It does not appear that the discouraging result of the former negociations, had as yet produced much hesitation respecting the propriety of farther communications with him on the subject. They seemed as if instinctively decided in their attachment to monarchy, and in associating every thing desirable in church and state with the reign of Charles as the legitimate heir of the crown, and as the fittest personage for being entrusted with the sceptre. Entertaining such views, the General Assembly wrote him a letter, "explaining their sen-

timents, vindicating their loyalty, and freely bringing before him what they wished him to do, and what they insisted he should avoid.”¹ They did not conceal the disappointment they felt at his refusal to listen to their reasonable desires, nor did they shun expressing their sense of his disaffection to the cause of religion in withholding from the Church of Scotland that respect which is due to her supreme court; for he had not condescended to give her a letter, or in any other way to indicate his real intentions. But, steadfast and dutiful in their attachment to him, and deeply penetrated with a sense of their obligations to Him who is higher than the kings of the earth, they could not refrain from a renewed expression of their sentiments, and from offering him a more serious remonstrance in reference to his conduct. He was again warned of the danger to which he was exposing himself, in preferring the counsels of men who were in every respect opposed to the religion and to the best interests of his kingdom. He was exhorted and entreated to fear God, and to grant the reasonable requests of his people, by espousing, and, in every way competent to him, supporting the established religion. “And now we do with all earnestness beseech your majesty that you will follow the courses of truth and peace; and that when there is a door opened for your majesty to enter to your royal government over us, in peace, with the favour of God and cordial love and embracings of all your good subjects, you will not suffer yourself to be so far abused and misled by the counsels of men who delight in war, as to prefer the way of violence and blood, which cannot but provoke the Most High against your majesty, and alienate from you the hearts of your best subjects, who desire nothing more than that your majesty may have a long and happy reign over them, and that they may live under you a

¹ Cook's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, vol. iii. 183.

peaceable and quiet life in all goodness and honesty."

Charles had spent the most of his time since he left the Hague, in the island of Jersey. And when the Scottish parliament heard of his arrival there, they despatched Sir George Winram to propose a new negotiation. The prospects of his majesty had greatly altered since his departure from the Hague. He then entertained high hopes from the temporary success of Ormond in Ireland, and expected that having subdued that kingdom, he would have it in his power, in a short time, to enter Scotland at the head of an army, which, united with his supporters in the country, would enable him to dictate to the parliament, and particularly to the church, the terms on which he would wield the sceptre. Montrose, inflated with pride in consequence of his former successes, encouraged the king to commit the war implicitly to him, promising that in a few days his majesty's way to the throne, and to the unrestricted possession of the reins of government, would undoubtedly be opened. The marquis of Ormond had succeeded in uniting the Irish catholics with the protestants and royalists, in order to oppose the army employed by the English parliament, and had reduced a number of garrisons on his march to Dublin. But Jones, having received reinforcements from England, surprised him with such success at the gates of Dublin, as proved an irreparable loss to the royal cause. The numerous army of Ormond, collected with much difficulty, was completely routed; their baggage and ammunition seized, a thousand men killed on the field, and two thousand taken prisoners. This was only the commencement of the royal reverses in the western kingdom. The parliament hitherto had been so much engrossed with the affairs of England, that comparatively little attention was devoted to the sister kingdoms. But now that the war at home had been conducted to a triumphant close, and the cause

of the king, and even of monarchy itself, in a great measure suppressed, the English parliament was prepared to exert their military strength for similar purposes, either in Ireland or in Scotland, according to the aspect of circumstances. Cromwell, already the first officer in the army, was now, as the reward of his military prowess, appointed commander-in-chief, in place of Lord Lisle, who had been recalled. The champion of the commonwealth soon set sail with a formidable body of cavalry and infantry, animated with dauntless courage in consequence of their late conquests at home, and burning with revenge against the Irish for their atrocious massacre of the protestants. The first opportunity was embraced with alacrity for striking a decisive blow. Proceeding to Drogheda with a fixed determination to reduce it, although defended so strongly by two thousand foot and a regiment of horse, as to be by the government considered impregnable at that season of the year, the besiegers attacked it with such fury that the place was taken at the third assault, and the garrison, as well as many of the inhabitants, put to the sword. Such as escaped the general slaughter were destined to the plantations.¹ The severities of the conqueror at this time have been a subject of keen animadversion among historians. It was unquestionably "a terrible act," and could only be justified, if at all, by the extraordinary circumstances of the case. The few survivors of the garrison, spared by the soldiers, whose thirst for blood had already been slaked, were brought forth and butchered next day. This was professedly done in retaliation of the late massacre, and it certainly very much resembled it. "Such had been," says Hume,² "the indescribable atrocities of the Irish, who, not contented with murdering men, women, and children, and in an un-

¹ Brodie's Hist. of British Empire, vol. iv. 256.

² Hume's Hist. of England, 715. London edition, 1826.

suspecting moment of security had inflicted upon their unresisting victims the most excruciating torments, that the gates of mercy were barred against them in every heart; and Cromwell, by denying quarter which they never granted, acted in conformity with the general sentiments of protestants." Such conduct, it may be remarked, though too often followed by protestants, received no countenance from the protestant faith. Cromwell, no doubt, knew that it would be offensive to his countrymen; but his main design in the revolting tragedy was to strike terror into the heart of the other garrisons, and to induce them to capitulate. And it is not improbable that his severity in the commencement of the campaign was the means of saving much life that would have otherwise been sacrificed in its progress.

The fate of Drogheda completely unmanned the enemy, and everywhere the symptoms of a demand for capitulation and submission to the conqueror became common. The victorious army then proceeded to Wexford, and commenced the siege of that town. The garrison made little resistance, and were preparing to surrender; but, having neglected their guards, the English army rushed in upon them, and put them to the sword, with the same severity that had a little before been exemplified at Drogheda. Cromwell found no longer any difficulty in the way of his Irish conquest. Cities and fortified places seemed ready to surrender as fast as he could proceed, and be prepared for receiving possession. His chief obstacle arose from the progress of disease among his troops, and from the difficulty of their subsistence in an enemy's country at an advanced season of the year. But while in these straits, Cork, Kinsdale, and all the English garrisons in Munster, opening their gates, deserted to the victorious army with the desire and determination of sharing the fortunes of their countrymen.

The conquest of Ireland might, after the sub-

mission of the English garrisons, be regarded as complete. The authority of Ormond was brought to an end by his late reverses; and, exposed to the indignation of the papists, and the execrations of his soldiers, he surrendered the command to the marquis of Clanricarde, who found the state of affairs to be so desperate as to admit of no remedy. The Irish were so far reduced that many of them welcomed banishment as a refuge; and, finding every facility for embarkation, about 40,000 of them emigrated for a foreign land.

Thus were the king's prospects of support from Ireland, which had been presented to his anxious mind in the most brilliant colours, and which he had fondly cherished, completely blasted. That kingdom was now nearly as much in the power of the republicans as England, and there remained not a single point in it upon which the royal hopes could rest with confidence. Scotland was now become his *dernier resort*; and there were only two ways by which he could think of entering that kingdom. The one was through military force, under the management of his champion Montrose, and the other through temporary concessions to the covenanters, in order to obtain the support of the parliament and of the church, which amounted to the general influence of the country. The king's abstract leanings were unquestionably to the side of Montrose; but Graham being destitute of any considerable force, and after all his boastings to the contrary, his success in producing an insurrection for his support remaining doubtful, he could not, but at the utmost peril, be entirely depended upon by his majesty in the present conjuncture. To gratify his own likings, and to gain his ulterior objects, the king determined, as far as possible, to avail himself of the services of both; or rather not to reject the overtures of the parliament until Montrose had been afforded a fair opportunity to display his prowess, and

to implement his promises. Sir George Winram was received with professions of cordiality; but as nothing had transpired respecting his conferences in Jersey, some of the members of parliament regarded the absence of all satisfactory returns as a sufficient reason for sisting procedure to a new negociation. Winram returned in February 1650, when the committee of estates considered the propriety of appointing a deputation to treat with the king at Breda, where he had gone for the purpose of obtaining better accommodation during the expected negotiations.

It now became more evident that there existed a division of sentiment in the church and parliament of Scotland, respecting the propriety of proceeding without delay to treat with his majesty, while they had no evidence that he had abandoned his former principles, or in any considerable degree reformed his practice. And it is not easy to see, how any person of necessary discernment and caution would not hesitate to sanction such a proposal, unless he had prepared himself to abandon the whole reformation, including every thing desirable in civil and religious liberty, a reformation for the establishment and maintenance of which they had struggled for many years, and made many sacrifices, as well as the most solemn vows. But so intently was the national mind set upon their prince's induction, that Argyll and the chancellor, with a great part of the committee, insisted for the appointment of a committee to proceed to Breda and treat with his majesty, while Cassillis, Warriston, and some others, chiefly ministers, who had been requested to attend, strongly resisted the proposal. The subject was keenly contested, but at length the overture was carried by a majority.¹

The parliament met on the 5th day of March, and was opened with a sermon by Mr Robert Douglas,

¹ Balfour's Historical Works, iv. 2.

who, from the example of the centurion,¹ described the true lovers of their country in a spirit and style fitted to inspire the senators with the purest patriotism; and while he was favourable to the proposal of a treaty with the king, he tendered a number of suitable instructions and admonitions in reference to the manner in which it ought to be conducted. The correspondence of the committee, and Libberton's report, were read and approved. The terms on which it was agreed to admit his majesty to the government of the country were settled, and they were no less stringent than what had been offered the former year at the Hague. A committee was also appointed to proceed without delay to the king for the commencement of negotiations. It consisted of the earls of Cassillis and Lothian, the lairds of Brodie and Libberton for the barons; Sir John Smith and Mr Alexander Jaffray, for the burghs; and Messrs James Wood, John Livingston, and Mr Hutcheson, for the commission of the General Assembly. Their instructions amounted to ten in number, and were in substance as follows:

They were directed to demand that all those who had been excommunicated by the church, be dismissed from his majesty's company and council; that the king should be pleased to declare by solemn oath, that he would under his hand and seal, allow the national covenant of Scotland, and the Solemn League and Covenant of the three kingdoms, and that he would prosecute the object of these in his royal station; that he would ratify and approve all acts of parliament enjoining the Solemn League and Covenant, and establishing presbyterian government, the Directory for Worship, the Confession of Faith, and Catechism, in the kingdom of Scotland, as they were already approved by the General Assembly of the church, and by the parliament of that kingdom; that he would give his

¹ Luke vii. 5.—“He loveth our nation, and hath built us a synagogue.”

royal assent to the acts of parliament, enjoining the same in the rest of his dominions, and that he would observe the same in his own practice and family, and never make any opposition therein, or endeavour any change thereof; that he would consent and agree that all matters civil might be determined by the present and subsequent parliaments of the kingdom of Scotland, and all matters ecclesiastical by the General Assembly of the church, as was formerly condescended upon and agreed to by his late father.

Such were the conditions the commissioners were instructed to propose to Charles; and they had no authority to make any considerable abatement. While some historians inveigh to the utmost of their power against the covenanters, and load them with the reproaches of gloomy bigotry, wild fanaticism, and the worst hypocrisy; others indulge in terms of moving compassion for the king, compelled to abandon his beloved associates, and to conform to a religion at once repugnant to his instinctive likings, and to his hereditary and favourite ideas of civil government, ecclesiastical polity, and true piety. We entertain just as little sympathy with such a compassion for the king as we do with those who prostitute their powers for the purpose of exposing the most able and enlightened defenders of our dearest liberty to derision and contempt. But in order to present the subject in a clearer and juster light, it will be necessary to investigate it a little more particularly.

In the present and more advanced state of knowledge respecting civil and religious liberty, it is scarcely necessary to inquire, if in any circumstances it be right in subjects to propose to a supreme magistrate the terms on which he can be entrusted with the reins of government. There is, at least in the British empire, a general agreement, that the king must govern agreeably to the laws made by the fairly chosen and accredited representatives of the people; and the generality believe that he is bound to maintain

the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of the country. For example, there is no point that the prelates and most of our peers more strenuously maintain, than that the royal person occupying the British throne be an episcopalian, and that before his investiture with the sovereignty he give the most sacred pledges of his fidelity to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. And should any legitimate heir of the crown plead the dictates of conscience in favour of presbytery, and for the purpose of obtaining exemption from any obligation to profess or to support episcopacy, there is no doubt that the lords spiritual would oppose the presbyterian with all their personal and official influence, and that they would employ the most strenuous efforts for the purpose of imposing an effectual veto upon his pretensions, until he should reconsider his professions, and consent to conform to the existing order of induction to the supreme power, and to the existing laws respecting religion. In all this they would profess to see no injustice, but a laudable zeal for the best interests of the community. But when presbyterians do the same thing, they are exposed to scorn, and condemned as outraging the rights of conscience, and trampling on every thing dignified in royalty and sacred in religion. The people of Scotland had, as reasonable and responsible beings, educed their religion from the fountain of truth exhibited in the sacred Scriptures; and where is the just cause for condemning them, because they insisted that his majesty should, previous to his promotion to the throne, give sufficient pledges that he would embrace the religion of his people, and exert his royal influence, not for its subversion, but for its prosperity? But the unfortunate prince was forced to banish "from court all excommunicated persons, that is, all those who either under Hamilton or Montrose had ventured their lives for his family; that he should bind himself to take the covenants,"¹ &c. True, the men excom-

¹ Hume, p. 716.

municated by the church, and to be banished from the king's presence, had fought for his royal father; but it was in the cause of despotism, and therefore, in the character of malignants; they had fought for the purpose of extinguishing the liberties of the country; and if the son had not profited by the infatuation, and by the fate of the father, so as to abandon his evil and offensive courses, it was utterly preposterous in him to treat with the presbyterian people of Scotland respecting his possession of the throne of their kingdom. As to the covenants so much contemned and cried down—the chief charter and palladium of the nation's liberties, they were the principal means of binding all classes to the public cause, and to one another for its support. The great service they did to the interests of the reformation is the true reason of that reckless hostility which has been manifested against them by their enemies, whose terms of abuse have too often been adopted and retailed by not a few of the ill-informed, who are otherwise friendly to the principles that were so ably advocated by the covenanters. It was no greater hardship for Charles to separate from his evil companions, and to desist from the despotic practices of his father, than it was for Hezekiah to forsake the evil ways of Ahaz, or for Josiah to abandon the evil courses of Amon his father, or than it is even for any sinner to forsake his partners and practices of iniquity, and to turn to the paths of righteousness. It is idle and ignorant, if not worse, to insinuate that it was merely a matter of taste whether the presbyterian or the prelatic form of ecclesiastic polity was preferred. The spiritual independence of the church, as well as the civil and ecclesiastical liberties of the country, were all involved in the question at issue, and these were to be sunk or saved, according as the very terms proposed to his majesty by the competent authorities were observed or violated.

If the safety of the reformation was the principal object of the parliament of Scotland in prescribing the

above-mentioned articles as the only terms on which they would conclude a treaty with the king, it may be admitted that they displayed a vigilant sagacity, and are entitled to the lasting gratitude of all genuine reformers. Yet it is possible to be at much pains in preparing wise and strict rules, and after all to evince a culpable indifference in their application. It was now becoming too evident that there was a begun and a growing disposition both in parliament and in the church, not to insist on a sufficiently explicit and particular agreement from his majesty to the terms settled in the commissioners' instructions. From the principles and pressing circumstances of his majesty, and from an ardent desire for his admission to supreme power on the part of most of the parliament's commissioners, there was great cause to apprehend some dishonourable and dangerous compromise, that would enable the king, instigated by his personal friends, and strengthened by his new accessions of power, to evade all restrictions, and to subvert the constitution. The church now laboured under great disadvantage from the want of such men as had been the leaders in her defence in former days.

Mr John Livingston was very averse to his appointment on the committee. He felt a constitutional reluctance to take any part in affairs of such public importance; and besides, he entertained scruples about the propriety of ministers being employed in matters that were more of a civil than of an ecclesiastical nature. "But," says he, "when I considered the commissioners sent by the state, I was very unwilling to embark in any business with them. Cassillis, Brodie, and Jaffray (I had no exception against the other three) I suspected would be more ready to an agreement upon unsafe terms. Lothian I found, two years before, when the west rose against the engagers returning home from England, that he was very dissatisfied with their rising. Libberton had

been long with the king at Jersey, and brought the overture of the treaty, and in all his discourses gave evidence of a most earnest desire, upon any terms, to have the king brought home. Sir John Smith had tampered with James Graham in 1645, and was a man of no great ability, and what ability he had I suspected would not be well employed."¹ It may be said, and not altogether without reason, that Livingston was disposed to dwell on the most forbidding aspect of the subject, and that he was apt to entertain too strong suspicions of others embarked in the same enterprise with himself. But his good affection to the public cause, and the depth of his piety being unquestionable, and his judgment and discrimination in other matters being, to say the least of them, very respectable, it would be rash to reject his apprehensions of his coadjutors as altogether uncharitable and groundless. So strong was Livingston's aversion to take any part in the treaty, that he said in his haste, "ere I condescended to go out to, and to have any hand in the consequences that I apprehended would follow, I would choose rather, if it were the Lord's will, to be drowned in the waters by the way." On the very night of their landing at Campvere, Lothian and Libberton proposed to invite from the Hague the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Lauderdale, and others who, on account of malignancy, had been expelled from the kingdom, to come to Breda, and assist the commissioners in conducting the treaty with the king. Such a proposal, although rejected, must be regarded as to a considerable degree justifying the apprehensions of Livingston respecting the dispositions of those with whom it originated. Whether they had been invited or not, Lauderdale and his friends came to Breda about the same time with the commissioners, and in the progress of the treaty were abundantly officious in their interference

¹ Livingston's Life, by himself, p. 30.

Cassillis was appointed to address his majesty in name of the parliament, and Livingston in name of the church. The former, adopting the style of a courtier, was smooth and congratulatory. Livingston had prepared a speech, "wherein," he says, "were some things a little free, such as I thought became a minister to speak, concerning the king himself and his father's house, and the counsel and ways he had followed." But his speech, being shewn before delivery to the rest of the commissioners, was diluted to such a degree as greatly neutralized its original qualities, and rendered it quite inoffensive to his majesty's taste. It was deemed to be most conducive to the ultimate success of the treaty, and to the good of the cause, to commence with such things as were most agreeable, and afterwards to introduce articles of a more forbidding and obnoxious kind. Some of them would have preferred to treat by conferences, but it was agreed to correspond in writing. Brodie prepared the papers for the parliament, and Mr James Wood for the church. In the very commencement of the negociations, the commissioners departed both from the letter and spirit of their instructions, in a manner scarcely consistent with fidelity to their country or with the dictates of prudence. Instead of presenting his majesty with a full copy of the terms on which he was to be entrusted with the government of the kingdom, the commissioners endeavoured first to inform themselves of what the court might be disposed to grant, and then modified their terms to the most advantageous rate that they deemed consistent with a successful termination of the treaty. By smoothing their expressions, and omitting such matter as was likely to be less acceptable, in the hope of advancing every thing material afterwards, they at once committed themselves, and were held bound to stand to the terms at first propounded. The continuance of the treaty was restricted to thirty days,

but ten more were to be allowed in the case of a certain prospect of an agreement being concluded within that period. It was nearly a week after the commissioners had been introduced at court before their first papers were presented, which were answered in four days by his majesty; and, owing to the absence of Lothian and others of the parliament's commissioners, several days elapsed before any second papers were communicated.

In his conversation with the commissioners, the king's manner was so affable and obliging, that the ministers, whose apprehensions were strongest, imagined that had Libberton and such as were frequently admitted to his court faithfully exerted themselves, their desires would have been granted. But in the private and preparatory conferences of the commission the most influential members insisted, "that the king should not be so much pressed; alleging that commissioners had always power to manage their instructions, and that they ought not for such things to break off the treaty, and undo the king and his business."¹ The ministers were also, on different occasions, allowed the utmost freedom in stating their sentiments to his majesty, and they respectfully insisted, that if he had any scruples respecting the covenants, he should candidly state them; but although his objections upon this subject were of the most inveterate and invincible kind, he was very cautious in betraying them to the commissioners of the church. On one occasion, in reasoning with them about ceremonies, some of his popish notions respecting the insufficiency of Scripture were allowed to escape. He denied that the Scripture is a perfect rule in subjects of a controverted kind; and inquired how people knew it to be the word of God, but by the testimony of the church. With all his courtesy and engaging accomplishments, Charles never so much as signified

¹ Livingston's Life, p. 32.

an intention of abandoning or even of modifying episcopacy, nor did he in any degree alter his practice. During the treaty the service-book and the chaplain were employed as before, and the solemn remonstrances of the ministers did not induce him to moderate his pleasures; for "many nights there was balling and dancing, till some time near day."

His majesty was certainly placed in very peculiar and difficult circumstances, and would have required for his guidance, no ordinary share of principle, wisdom, and energy. He had not merely to treat with the presbyterians: there were two factions among his own friends, who perplexed him with their conflicting counsels and urgent importunities. At the head of one was his mother, who, though at a distance, insisted by letters and messengers that he should form such an agreement with the Scots as would enable him to obtain their crown without compromising, except in temporary appearance, any of his despotical principles; and at the head of the other were Prince Rupert and Montrose, who no less strenuously opposed any such agreement. The queen's faction included Hamilton and Lauderdale, and others that had for malignancy been compelled to leave the kingdom; and Rupert's included many of rank in England, who stood high in the favour of the king. In short they were nearly the same factions, and, with the exception of what was then recommended in reference to Ireland, they employed similar arguments to those that had been used at the time of the first treaty. The whole business appeared so hazardous to the Church of Scotland, that some of the commissioners were led to consider nothing so desirable as the failure of their present negotiations. Livingston says, "many a time Mr Hutcheson and I would confess to one another, that we were glad when the treaty was likely to break up, and sad when there was any appearance of closing it." The following may be regarded as the substance of what ap-

peared most forbidding to the friends of the church, and of what was most discouraging to her representatives in the committee. The king seemed unwilling to make any concessions, and actually complied no farther than the pressure of circumstances constrained him to go. All his concessions were made with the concurrence of Hamilton and others on the list of malignants. His majesty's demands, and these were not few, were made in such terms as indicated a purpose to form a combination of all parties, which on any principle favoured his promotion, whether favourable or hostile to the reformation cause; and it was evident that he would accept the services not only of such as Montrose, but even of the Irish papists. He insisted upon such support as would enable him to assert his claims upon England, and the commissioners of parliament exceeded their instructions in their promises of assistance. In their statement of the conditions on which they were to invite him to the throne, they also omitted various important clauses, and hastened to the conclusion of the treaty; and after the terms of their actual agreement, which they immediately transmitted to parliament, were disapproved of on account of the omissions, it was contended that these were not essential to an agreement. When reminded that the parliament of Scotland could not be bound by any treaty not concluded agreeably to their own instructions, some of the commissioners replied, that "they had heads and estates to lose, and that the parliament might call them to an account for what they did, but both the parliament and kingdom of Scotland would be bound to all they had done in their name."

So many unfavourable circumstances could not fail to render the treaty a disheartening affair in the account of all who regarded the security of the existing constitution in church and state as an object of paramount importance, and as possessing the highest claims upon their attention.

As the time drew nigh when their negotiations were to terminate, the business was pushed forward with great precipitancy, and some of the commissioners seemed prepared to accept an agreement upon any terms, rather than fail in the promotion of their prince. An invitation to his majesty being at length prepared, the commissioners of state, before subscribing it, asked the opinion of the ministers on the whole matter. Livingston said, "although a state or their commissioners should agree with the king upon terms disadvantageous to religion and liberty, a minister might well now show his mind; but if they went on, it was not a minister's part to oppose them, but submit himself to the government although not rightly constitute; and desired them to do according as they found themselves warranted in their commission and instructions." Such would certainly not have been the reply of Knox or Henderson in the same circumstances. But had the ecclesiastical commissioners been endowed with all the sagacity and unbending firmness of these champions, it is doubtful if they could now either have frustrated the treaty or rendered it such as might safely be consented to; and the good ministers in the commission considered any attempt in their power, either to break it off, or to bring it to a satisfactory issue, utterly hopeless.

Sir James Dalrymple, secretary of the commission, was dispatched to Scotland to give information respecting their proceedings and the progress of their negotiations. In the prospect of very soon leaving Breda for Scotland, his majesty resolved to observe the sacrament, and, in order to show his friends that the covenanters had not shaken the constancy of his attachment to prelacy, he determined to receive the ordinance in a kneeling posture. Informed of his intentions, the presbyterian ministers addressed themselves to him with much importunity; they earnestly remonstrated with him on the inexpediency of such a manner of proceeding in present circumstances, and

its inconsistency with his concessions to the commissioners, and they seriously warned him that it would lead men to regard all his professions as no better than designing hypocrisy. To such intreaties Charles replied, that "his father used always to communicate at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday, and he behoved to do so likewise, and that people would think strange of him, if, having resolved to communicate, he should forbear it; and that he did it to procure a blessing on his intended voyage." A liberal-minded presbyterian could respect a simple and sincere episcopalian on expressing such sentiments, and he could make every allowance for such a person's attachment to the system in which he had been trained; but it is not so easy to make an apology for the man, whose general conduct made it clear as day that he cared nothing for religion at all on its own account, while, in opposition to all that could be addressed to his understanding and to his heart, and in disregard of every argument of expediency, conciliation, and interest, he clung with the utmost pertinacity to a circumstance of form, however offensive to his best friends, and perilous to the peace of the country. In point of fact, the king and his courtiers set no high value upon the ceremony of kneeling at the sacrament in the abstract. The great reason why he so closely adhered to it, and why the Scots were so urgent in their endeavours to induce him to abandon it, was its connection with the whole system of episcopacy, and its bearing on that absolute supremacy of kings in things spiritual, which had been claimed by his father, and which he was in a little to assert for himself. The practice in dispute was considered by the presbyterians as at best but a superstitious ceremony, but it is evident they were influenced by stronger reasons in the opposition now manifested against it.

Preparations for the king's departure being in considerable progress, it became evident that, in

spite of the parliament's explicit instructions to the contrary, Hamilton and Lauderdale, and some others in similar circumstances, were intending to accompany him.

But after all the commissioners had embarked for Scotland except Cassillis and Lothian, who, being at some distance with the king, had not joined the rest, letters were received from parliament and from the commission of the General Assembly, expressing their dissatisfaction with the settlement, declaring the whole treaty null and void, and containing also a list of the names of such persons as were on no account to be permitted to accompany the king to Scotland. The letters, after being shown to Cassillis and Lothian, were presented to the commissioners on board the vessel, who, suspecting that in order to avoid them and escape any additional restrictions, the king and his favourites might hastily embark for Scotland, returned ashore, and with all expedition proceeded in quest of him, in order to insist for satisfaction to the parliament. They soon found their suspicions justified, for the king very soon embarked, and all who were with him, including Lothian and Casillis, and when the commissioners returned, they found them all in the vessel. Meanwhile, a gentleman of Amsterdam arrived for the purpose of warning the king that the parliament of England had twenty ships all on the alert in expectation of him. Such an intimation could not fail to remind his majesty of the perilous circumstances in which he was placed. The ministers felt serious scruples respecting the propriety of embarking with the king and his companions at all, but at length they were induced to consent. Lothian and Libberton were for proceeding to Scotland before discussing the new communications or requiring any additional pledges from his majesty; a proposal which, if executed, would certainly have exposed them to the displeasure of all who respected the honour of parliament, or the safety of the country.

But a majority of the commissioners concurred with the ministers in the immediate necessity of farther negociation, and of insisting with his majesty on such terms as would meet the approbation of their constituents. Written petitions and representations, founded on the recent communications from Scotland, were accordingly prepared and presented to the king, who, in his answer, "desired to know whether the commissioners would stand to their first agreement, and give him assurance of honour, safety, and freedom, in Scotland, as they had done before."

It is evident from what ensued, that their former agreement was such as contained no explicit promise that his majesty would support the existing institutions of the country; that it had amounted almost to a conspiracy betwixt the king and the commissioners of state against the liberties of the kingdom. And the minds of all the honest men connected with the commission must have been greatly relieved by the declaration of nullity against the whole treaty that had at length emanated from the competent authorities. The whole subject was resumed, and after it had been warmly contested for a number of days, the commissioners both of church and state had, in despair, prepared papers for the purpose of exonerating themselves, and abandoning the treaty. But all of a sudden, and after conciliation appeared utterly hopeless, Libberton came from his majesty with the information "that the king was ready to swear and subscribe the covenant." The crisis at which matters had arrived constrained him to temporise, and he no longer refused to make any concession the commissioners were instructed to require. It was immediately resolved to receive his oath and subscription; and that it might be done with every accompaniment of suitable solemnity, Mr Livingston was appointed to preach a sermon next Sabbath, and to administer the oath to his majesty, and receive his subscription of the National Covenant and

Solemn League. This solemn service was performed the same day on which they entered the mouth of the Spey; and they landed on the twenty-third day of June, 1650.*

The propriety of administering the covenants to Charles may be very much doubted, if not decidedly condemned by the genuine friends of these deeds. His oath and subscription were a solemn farce, a daring mockery of the supreme Judge, and a glaring profanation of a sacred institution; and our wonder is how Livingston could surmount his objections, (and he acknowledges they were not small,) to take such a prominent part in the work. Since the people of Scotland had pledged themselves to stand or fall with their liberties, it was certainly very unwise, and even very perilous, as they afterwards found, to encourage a man, whose whole prejudices and past life were all against them, to accept the reins of their government, and to give the most sacred pledges of his support to a system, which, as they might have been well aware, he was resolved, on the first opportunity, to overturn.

An anxiety to finish our account of the treaty that terminated in the king's introduction to Scotland has hitherto prevented any notice of a most important circumstance which must now be stated, both on account of its connection with Scotland, and the disclosure it makes of the purposes and character of the king. About the commencement of the treaty, Montrose, who had, for a considerable time before, as he supposed, been under some supernatural impulse, entertaining a hope that it was reserved for him to assert the rights of his sovereign in Scotland, made every possible preparation for a descent upon that coast, and in high spirits embarked in his favourite expedition. Provided with some arms by the court of Sweden, and furnished with

¹ Livingston's Life.

money by Denmark, Graham sailed from Hamburgh with 600 Germans, commanded chiefly by Scottish exiles, and early in the spring was transported to the Orkneys.

The peaceful inhabitants of these dreary climes were neither prepared nor disposed to make any considerable resistance, and the invader endeavoured, by the largest possible levy, to augment his forces, which, after his utmost efforts, did not exceed 1400 men. He expected large reinforcements from the highlands, and was so sanguine as to hope that the people would flock from all parts of the country to his standard.

The royalists could not only boast of Montrose as a redoubtable champion on the field of battle; he had also displayed his polemical powers by the press, and endeavoured to apply that prodigious engine to the public mind, for the purpose of enlisting opinion and passion in his service. To pave the way for his descent on the country, he had published a pamphlet, and having first circulated it extensively abroad, he put it into the hands of his own countrymen, in the hope of converting the world to his cause. It is entitled, "Declaration of James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, Lieutenant-Governor and Captain-General for his Majesty of the kingdom of Scotland." This production reiterates the common charges against the church and parliament of Scotland that were originated by malignants and prelatists, and which have ever since been retailed by their successors under different names. Montrose pretends to condemn his opponents, first, for "hatching a rebellion in this kingdom; then, with promoting the like in England; and lastly, with the sale and murder of their native king, and robbing his son of his rights." From such a text, in the hands of such a preacher, the reader may be left to conclude in what glaring colours the men of the covenant were exhibited. And yet there is reason to think that the extravagance of his statements and

Charges did not render them altogether harmless. The pamphlet had created some interest abroad, and, recommended by his designing partizans at home, it was fitted to seduce the simple, and to make an impression in favour of its author, which it became necessary to remove. For this purpose the committee of estates and commission of the General Assembly published an answer to it, in which they certainly rendered him "railing for railing." It is entitled, "A Declaration of the Committee of Estates of the Parliament of Scotland, in vindication of their proceedings from a scandalous pamphlet published by that excommunicated traitor, James Graham; together with a declaration and warning to all the members of the kirk and kingdom, in answer to a paper entitled and reported the Declaration of James Graham, by the Commission of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland."¹ He is called "an excommunicated traitor," "a dissembling hypocrite," and "a vain-glorious man." But while we may doubt the compatibility of such epithets with the dignity of the courts that employed them, it must be admitted that the pamphlet contains a satisfactory and a successful refutation of the calumnies with which they were assailed. It exhibits an invincible array of facts in such statements, reasonings, and conclusions, as will be deemed sufficient, by every candid reader, to expose the calumniator to shame, and fully to vindicate the public character from his foul charges. Its addresses to foreign princes and states, as well as to the kingdom of Scotland, are very impressive. Montrose had employed all his influence, which, including the recommendation of the king, was very considerable, for the purpose of levying men and money abroad; and in order to frustrate his efforts, the commission and committee say, "These things being duly weighed and considered by foreign princes and

¹ Laing's Hist. of Scotland, ii. 442.

states, we trust, that since we have never done any injury or wrong to them, but have rather been ready to perform all friendly duties in our power, as we have had occasion and opportunity; and seeing we only desire to enjoy our religion and liberties under his majesty, according to the word of God and laws and constitutions of this kirk and kingdom, and are most willing, upon just satisfaction given to our desires presented to his majesty, and published to the world in print, not only to receive his majesty and submit to his government, but contribute our best endeavours, by all lawful and necessary means, according to the covenant and the duty of faithful subjects, that his majesty may be restored to the peaceable possession of the government of his other kingdoms; they will be mindful of that common rule of justice known by the light of nature, and confirmed by our Saviour, ‘*Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.*’ And therefore, as they would expect from us in the like case, we do expect from them that they will neither contribute men nor money, nor any other aid nor assistance to a declared traitor, who is seeking neither his majesty’s honour and happiness, nor the good of his native country, but merely to satisfy his own lusts and ambitious ends and designs.”

The address to their own country assumes the form of most solemn warning and fearful denunciation. “If he shall come into this kingdom, we are confident that all those in whom the sense of the fear of God, duty to the king, and affections to their native country are not utterly decayed and extinguished, will heartily and unanimously join to resist and oppose him, and to use their best endeavours, that he may be brought to condign and exemplary punishment.” “But if there shall be any in the land so foolish, base, and treacherous, as to hearken to the vain promises and empty professions of that scandalous, wicked, and infamous pamphlet, (which, in detestation

thereof, we have caused burn publicly at the cross of Edinburgh, by the hands of the common hangman) and shall aid and assist the said James Graham in his wicked designs against religion, the king and kingdom, we do hereby declare all such to be guilty of high treason, to be punished and proceeded against as the parliament or committees shall think fit." The most liberal encouragement is at the same time held forth for all good subjects to resist him.

Having crossed the firth separating the Orkneys from Caithness, Montrose soon felt that his calculations of general support had been quite erroneous. His warlike appearance, combined with a knowledge of the wanton cruelties he had formerly perpetrated, and the warnings contained in the pamphlet recently published by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the kingdom, inspired the inhabitants with terror, so that they fled from his approach, as if the very air he breathed had been charged with pestilence. To influence the populace against their rulers, Montrose published a proclamation, accusing them "of having most infamously, and beyond all expression of invincible baseness, to the blush of christians, and abomination of mankind, sold their sovereign over to their fellow-traitors to be destroyed," and "of being so little touched with the guilt of those villanies, as to begin with his majesty upon the same scores they left with his father, declaring him king with provisos." This fulmination was accompanied with offers of pardon to all that had been deceived by "the ignoble faction affecting government," always excepting such as had in any way been accessory to the late regicide; and the proclamation adjured the people by every thing sacred in religion, and patriotic in allegiance, to rise and rally around his standard, that, by a simultaneous movement, and a decisive stroke, they might at once assert the right of their injured sovereign, and retrieve the honour of their country. This ebullition was responded to by the committee

of estates in a similar strain of invective. Its statements were characterised as "the strenuous and groundless reproaches of that viperous brood of Satan, James Graham, whom the estates of parliament had long since declared traitor, the church delivered into the hands of the devil, and the nation generally detested and abhorred."¹

The committee of estates were as well prepared to combat Montrose on the battle field, as they had been to contradict and expose his printed calumnies. Lieutenant-general Leslie having ordered his forces to rendezvous at Brechin, was proceeding by forced marches to the north, and, in order to obstruct the progress of the enemy, Colonel Strachan was dispatched with three hundred horse. Although destitute of cavalry, Montrose did not avail himself of the natural protection afforded by the highlands, but was proceeding slowly through the level of Ross-shire; and on being apprized of Strachan's advance, he endeavoured to gain the pass of Invercarron, where he was surprised by the enemy, and, after repulsing the first assault, his forces were completely routed. The islanders, terrified at the majestic movements of the war horse, shrieked for quarter; and the foreigners, in confusion, fled to a wood in the vicinity, where, after a slight resistance, they became glad to surrender. Ten of the principal officers fell on the field, and the rest of them were nearly all taken prisoners. So complete was the discomfiture, that it was calculated that not more than a hundred escaped from being either killed, taken prisoners, or drowned in a river which they attempted to cross.² But the possession of Montrose's person was, in the eyes of the victor, of more importance than the capture or the destruction of all his army; and the most rigid search was made for him in every direction. The unfortunate man consulted his safety by flight; and

¹ Pp. 20, 21.

² Balfour, iv. 10.

in order to elude the grasp of his ardent pursuers, he disguised himself in the attire of a peasant, and, after wandering for some days among the hills in desperate circumstances, he committed himself to the generosity of one of his old followers, who dishonourably delivered him into the hands of his enemies.

Since the case of the late king, no criminal process had created such a deep and extensive interest in Britain, as that of Montrose. The common histories are so copious concerning his treatment, that no more than an outline of it shall be here sketched. While it is admitted that his crimes were such as justly deserved the highest pains, there are few that will now feel disposed to justify the barbarities which characterized the mode of his treatment and execution. In escorting him through the streets of Edinburgh, bound with cords, upon a cart driven by the common hangman, and in the sentence that was passed and executed, we think the authorities of Scotland derogated from the dignity of justice, and acted a part fitted to defeat its purposes. It savours too much of the barbarity of the age, and even of the spirit of revenge, which was exemplified towards his opponents at a subsequent period. He was hanged for three hours upon a gibbet thirty feet high; his body was cut in pieces, and his head affixed to the common jail, his limbs to the gates of the four principal towns of Scotland, and the remainder interred among the bones of malefactors. The unshaken confidence with which Graham made his defence, and met his fate, is a favourite theme of profuse panegyric with his political partizans. But the affected levity, and even complacency, with which he spoke and wrote of his awful execution, as if it had been an immortal honour, taken in connection with his flagrant perfidy, his wanton cruelty, and the incalculable mischief he had a principal hand in inflicting on his country, will dispose all such as contemplate his last days in the light of the Divine law, and himself on the eve of appearing

in the presence of the righteous Judge, to fear, that what has been applauded as among the noblest feats of fortitude, is nothing greater than fool-hardiness, and exhibits a mental frame which cannot be too strongly deprecated. In their anxiety to immortalize his fame, he has been compared with the heroes of Greece and Rome, and held worthy of a prominent place among them, in the pages of Plutarch. Such extravagant claims serve to prove, how far men's feelings and prepossessions will carry them beyond the utmost bounds which judgment and reason can approve. Montrose was equally incapable of the invention and of the action essential to the grandeur of war, and indispensably necessary to its brilliant and successful conduct on any extensive scale. And his admirers are so sensible of this, that their highest encomiums are modified by admissions that he was better qualified for irregular desultory warfare, than for directing the complicated operations of a regular campaign.¹

The apprehension of Montrose was accompanied by an important discovery, deeply affecting the character of the king. The truth was then detected, beyond all dispute, that, in his late invasion of Scotland, Montrose had proceeded on the authority of an express commission from his majesty. At the very time he was preparing to negotiate with the commissioners at Breda, Charles, with a duplicity seldom surpassed in the whole history of what may be called the hereditary moral distemper of his dynasty, was commissioning and strongly encouraging his military champion to invade the kingdom, and either to oblige them to treat on his majesty's terms, or, without regard to honour, equity, or humanity to wrest the helm of state from those who managed it, and to commit it to the irresponsible guidance of his master.² Such a

¹ See Laing and Hume.

² The following is a copy of a letter found on Montrose's person when he was apprehended :—

discovery, accompanied as it was by the ruin of Montrose, and the extinction of all hopes from the success of the royal arms in Scotland, must have made

“Right trusty and entirely beloved cousin, we greet you well. An address having been made to us from Scotland by a letter, whereof we send you a copy, in which they desire that we should acknowledge their parliament, and particularly the two last sessions of it, and thereupon offer to send us a solemn address for a full agreement; we have in answer thereunto, returned our letters to them, a copy whereof we likewise send you here inclosed, by which we have appointed a speedy time and place for their commissioners to attend us; and to the end you may not apprehend that we intend either by any thing contained in these letters, or by the treaty, we expect to give the least impediment to the proceedings, we think fit to let you know, that as we conceive that your preparations have been one effectual motive that has induced them to make the said address to us, so your vigorous proceedings will be a good mean to bring them to such moderation in the said treaty, as probably may produce an agreement and a present union of that whole nation in your service. We assure you therefore that we will not, before or during the treaty, do any thing contrary to that power and authority which we have given you by our commission, nor consent to any thing that may bring the least degree of diminution to it; and if the said treaty should produce an agreement, we will with our uttermost care so provide for the honour and interest of yourself, and of all that shall engage with you, as shall let the whole world see the high esteem we have of you, and our full confidence in that eminent courage, conduct, and loyalty, which you have always expressed to the king, our late father, of blessed memory, and to us by your actions and sufferings for our cause. In the mean time we think fit to declare to you that we have called them a committee of estates, only in order to a treaty, and for no other end whatever; and if the treaty do not produce an agreement, as we are already assured that the calling of them a committee of estates in the direction of a letter, doth neither acknowledge them to be legally so, nor make them such, so we shall immediately declare to all our subjects in Scotland, what we hold them to be, notwithstanding any appellation we have given them, thereby to satisfy them and the whole world, that we desire to reduce our subjects of that kingdom to their due obedience to us by our just and honourable condescensions, and by all endeavours

a deep impression on the minds of all parties. It certainly justified the worst suspicions of the presbyterians; and there can be no doubt that it had a temporary effect upon the tone and terms of his majesty. On being acquainted with the above communication, a number in the committee of estates, such as Warriston, Hope, Cheisly, Swinton, and others, proposed to recal their commissioners, and to hold no longer any terms with a man capable of such dangerous and dishonourable dealings. But the proposal was overruled, chiefly by the influence of Argyll, who employed all his address for the purpose of preventing a rupture. And although the king was much incensed at the indignities offered to his favourite, yet, aware that the presbyterians were in possession of his letter, he no longer refused, as he had formerly done, to listen to the terms proposed by the commissioners. Thus the total failure of the last expedition, got up by the royalists, for the purpose of enabling Charles to dictate to the commissioners from Scotland the terms on which he would accept the supreme power, proved a principal cause of constraining his consent to the very terms on which they were authorised to conclude a treaty with him. It may justly awaken the astonishment of posterity, that men who had estimated their liberties higher than

of kindness and favour on our parts, rather than by war and hostility, if their treasonable demands do not necessitate us to that as the only way of remedy left to us. We require and authorise you to proceed vigorously and effectively in your undertaking, and to act in all things in order to it as you shall judge the most necessary for the support thereof, and for our service in that way, wherein we doubt not but all our loyal and well affected subjects in Scotland will cordially and effectually join you, and by that addition of strength either dispose those that are otherwise minded to make reasonable demands to us in the treaty, and be able to force them to it by arms in case of their obstinate refusal. Communicate and publish this our letter to all such persons as you shall think fit."

their estates, or than even their lives, and who had pledged themselves in the most solemn terms to maintain and promote, at all hazards, the cause they had espoused, should, as if influenced by some magic spell, be induced to commit themselves so far to an enemy who was perhaps as much intent upon the overthrow of all that was dear to them, as any malignant or sectarian in the kingdom. Nor do we know an argument that could be used in vindication of what the nation afterwards did, in indignantly expelling his brother from the throne, that might not have been used with a force sufficient to justify their rejection of the second Charles, on their discovery of his perfidious connection with Montrose. In this way, they might have saved the institutions of their country from that fearful catastrophe which at length overtook them, and have averted many of the most distressing calamities that ever befel any people.

The seizure of many of Montrose's papers, including letters from some of the principal royalists in the country, and also the names of those in the north of Scotland, who had engaged to support him, led to discoveries which implicated many, and subjected some of them to the highest inflictions of law. A few of Montrose's principal officers soon followed him to the scaffold. Sir Francis Hay, Spottiswood the archbishop's grandson, Colonel Sibbald, and Harry, were beheaded by the maiden. A number of clergy in the Orkneys and in the northern counties of Scotland had pledged themselves by oath and subscription to support the invader; and their malignancy being discovered, they were at once rendered obnoxious to civil pains and ecclesiastical censure.¹

The above proceedings, which took place but a few weeks before his majesty's landing in Scotland, were very much fitted to damp public ardour, and to

¹ Laing's Hist. of Scotland, vol. iii. 448. Balfour's Works, vol. iv. 33.

prevent those manifestations of joy which commonly accompany the first appearance of a prince in his kingdom. But after all his misfortunes, Charles was received with every demonstration of respect, and all the provision was made for his household and equipage that was necessary to the support of the royal dignity.

The state of religion in Scotland when the king landed in that country has been variously estimated by authors, according to their peculiar sentiments, and the party causes in which they have embarked. While independents plume themselves on the state of England during the protectorate of Cromwell, and with an air of triumph refer us to it as a most satisfactory example of the success of their favourite system of ecclesiastical policy, and an irrefragable proof of its admirable adaptation to the high end of imbuing all classes of society with those principles which never fail to produce the genuine fruits of righteousness in every department of life, and form the true glory of a land; they are accustomed, to a considerable degree, to unite with episcopalians and the advocates of absolute supremacy in sneering and scoffing at the religion of Scotland at this time; they agree in representing it as characterised by the most intolerant bigotry, disgusting cant, revolting hypocrisy, and, in short, by every thing but the simple, sincere, humble, and self-denied piety which distinguish the disciples of the meek and lowly Jesus. The principal evidence adduced by high-churchmen against the piety of the covenanters, is of the following description:—They were daring enthusiasts, because they held the dangerous principle that it is wrong in the people to obey kings any farther than their commands accord with the word of God; and they bound themselves by the most solemn oaths to maintain their civil and religious liberties,—oaths which the highest powers upon earth could not compel them to violate; they were so

hypocritical as to pray with fervour and importunity for the pardon of public guilt, and particularly of the guilt of the royal family, and that God would avert public judgments, and bless the gospel, which they preached at greater length, and with more cogency and clearness of application, than the pride of men, mortified by faithful delineations of character and fearless denunciations of the judgments of God against evil doers, could well bear with. So presumptuous were they, and self-willed, that they were not afraid to say to their king, who claimed an absolute sovereignty over their bodies and minds, their temporal and spiritual privileges, "It is not lawful for thee" to give countenance to superstition, to indulge in licentiousness, and to prefer the company of men justly proscribed by the laws of their country, to the society of such as have approved themselves the best friends of your person and interests. And so destitute were these vulgar presbyters of all taste and sense of propriety, that they divested religion of all its external splendour, would have no bishops, and none of those official badges which the episcopalian church brought with her from Rome, and which she continues to regard as a part of her superiority to all other protestant churches,—trappings which the Church of Scotland had rejected for the simple reason that they have no warrant in the word of God, and are contrary to the simplicity and spiritual genius of the New Testament dispensation! The impartial reader may now be prepared to decide how far such objections deserve to be sustained as sufficient reason for condemning the religion belonging to the period of the Second Reformation.

While many of the sentences passed upon this subject by independents and republicans, are almost equally sweeping and condemnatory with the above, they proceed from different aspects of it, and they rest upon different grounds. Presbytery occupies a kind of intermediate place betwixt episcopacy and

independency, and the respective adherents of these systems, contemplating the Scottish church of the second reformation from different directions, are led to their conclusions against her from different premises. The former condemn the covenanters for going too far, and the latter condemn them for not proceeding far enough. The independents, accordingly, indulge in invectives against the authority claimed and exercised by presbyteries and ecclesiastical courts,—they represent our fathers of the covenanted Church of Scotland as entertaining erroneous sentiments on the subject of religious liberty,—they regard their whole ministrations and managements as conducted in an illiberal and intolerant manner, little fitted to prove extensively beneficial; and, as the consequence of this, they would lead us to believe, that the country, enveloped in darkness, and immersed in immorality, exhibited but few spots upon which the eye could rest with christian complacency. Their proofs of this ignorance and iniquity are generally drawn from such sources as “the railing of fanatical soldiers, the recriminations of parties during the heat of contention;” and those of them which may be viewed as “resting on better evidence, are akin to the attempts of popish writers, to prove the *Reformation* a *Deformation*, by culling quotations from the sermons of such protestant preachers as inveighed most freely against prevailing vices.”¹

It would be inconsistent with candour and impartiality not to admit, that presbyterians, in their affection for their covenanting ancestors, as well as in their zeal for a system of ecclesiastical polity, which is professedly derived from Scripture, and which was then more fully submitted to the test of experiment, have exposed themselves, in some measure, to the charges now preferred against independents in reference to their estimate of religion in England, dur-

¹ Dr M'Crie's Miscellaneous Writings, p. 513.

ing the dominancy of the system of the latter in that kingdom. It has not been uncommon among presbyterian churchmen, and among seceders adhering to the constitutional principles of the established church, to quote the following fond statements of Kirkton, and to hold them forth as a picture of the general state of religion in Scotland at that time, so correct as to require no shading. Of the time intervening between the death of the first Charles and the arrival of the second, that historian observes, "These two years, in my opinion, were the best two years Scotland ever saw.—For though always since the Assembly at Glasgow, the work of the gospel had prospered, judicatories being reformed, godly ministers entered, and holy constitutions and rules daily brought into the church; yet now after duke Hamilton's defeat, and in the interval betwixt the two kings, religion had advanced the greatest step it had for many years; now the ministry was notably purified, the magistracy altered, and the people strangely reformed. It is true at this time hardly the fifth part of the lords of Scotland were admitted to sit in parliament, but those who did sit were esteemed truly godly men; so were all the rest of the commissioners of parliament elected of the most pious of every corporation. Also godly men were in and about this time, employed in all offices, both civil and military, and about this time the General Assembly, by sending abroad visitors into the country, made almost an entire change upon the ministry in several places of the nation, purging out the scandalous and insufficient, and planting in their place a sort of godly young men, whose ministry the Lord sealed with an eminent blessing of success, as they themselves sealed it with a seal of heavy sufferings; but so they made full proof of their ministry. Scotland hath been, even by emulous foreigners, called Philadelphia; and now she seemed to be in her flower. Every minister was to be tried five times a-year,

both for his personal and ministerial behaviour; every congregation was to be visited by the presbytery, that they might see how the vine flourished and the pomegranate budded. And there was no case nor question in the meanest family in Scotland but it might become the object of the deliberation of the General Assembly, for the congregational session's book was tried by the presbytery, the presbytery's book by the synod, and the synod's book by the General Assembly. Likewise, as the bands of the Scottish church were strong, so her beauty was bright: no error was so much as named; the people were not only sound in the faith, but innocently ignorant of unsound doctrine; no scandalous person could live, no scandal could be concealed in all Scotland, so strict a correspondence was there betwixt ministers and congregations. The General Assembly seemed to be the priest with Urim and Thummim, and there was not a hundred persons in all Scotland to oppose their conclusions; all submitted, all learned, all prayed, most part were really godly, or at least counterfeited themselves such. Then was Scotland [a heap of wheat set about with lilies, uniform as a palace of silver, beautifully proportioned; and this seems to me to have been Scotland's high moon. The only complaint of profane people was, that the government was too strict, and that they had not liberty enough to sin."¹

The above picture is drawn by one who had the fullest access to know the original, and the best opportunities for studying it minutely. It must however be evident to all possessing any considerable acquaintance with the subject, that he has, from excess of admiration, allowed his fancy too much liberty, and in various instances employed too bright colours. There can be no doubt of the searching inquiry made into the private character and official

¹ Kirkton's Hist. p. 49, 50.

conduct of ministers; but the deficiencies of many had been so great, that, without some miraculous interposition, their evil effects could not in so short a time have been so completely removed. We are informed, that in the months of September and October the preceding year, the Synod of Angus and Mearns had deposed eighteen ministers, "for insufficiency of the ministry, famishing of congregations, silence in the time of the late engagement against England, malignancy, and drunkenness."¹ A considerable number of those ordained by the bishops still remained, and continued to favour the doctrine and practice commended to them by their ghostly superiors. The progress of religion had been greatly retarded by the wars and the public commotions which prevailed, and the attention of the General Assembly had, for a number of years, been greatly engrossed with the ecclesiastical affairs of England.

But, with all the abatements required by these and similar considerations, we are satisfied that the statement is in the main correct, which represents this as the brightest spot in the history of Scotland's reformation and religion. The gospel was more extensively preached, and its ordinances in general were dispensed in greater abundance, than they had been, even in the days of Knox and Melville. These illustrious men, whether we consider the ardour and elevation of their personal piety, or the splendour of their official endowments, and the magnitude of the enterprises in which they embarked, are unquestionably entitled to the place of the principal reformers of Scotland. But the first of these did not live to see the work which had been so auspiciously commenced, and in which he had acted the leading part, carried forward to anything like the perfection contemplated; and the second was all his time called to act so much on the defensive, in resisting

¹ Lamont's Diary, 12.

the insidious and overbearing efforts of arbitrary power to wrest from the reformed church the immunities and attainments she had acquired, that the work of planting and watering could not be so successfully conducted as it would otherwise have been. The first reformation, was, however, a glorious work; and the foundations of the temple of God were laid so firmly upon the Rock of ages, that all the power of princes, and of earthly potentates, roused by prelates and parasites, was not able to overturn it. With all his popish propensities, and the mighty influence that his ambition prompted him to acquire, Laud could not reduce the religion of Scotland so far in conformity to Rome as to induce the church to adopt his service-book, and to conform to those ceremonies which he was eager to impose. So deeply was the public mind imbued with the doctrines and principles of the first reformation, through the labours of the church, accompanied with the power of the Spirit, that it did not lose these salutary impressions under all the rude efforts that were employed to obliterate them; and, in spite of all the starvation to which it had been exposed, from cold carnal Arminian clergy, the life of the first reformation was not extinguished, or even reduced to the state of a latent spark. A goodly number of ministers and people well remembered what their fathers had told them, and some still remained who remembered what they had witnessed with their eyes. With all that had befallen the church, they could still recognise her as the same house in which their fathers had praised God. The Confession of Faith and Books of Discipline, and the old framework remained, so that they had only, in a manner competent to them, to imitate Him who overthrew the tables of them that made his Father's house an house of merchandise, and to purify the temple. Henderson and his coadjutors wisely availed themselves of all that remained of the old building; "they took pleasure in its rubbish and stones," and they

were honoured of God to finish it more perfectly, and to fortify it more impregnably than their fathers. The mechanism of presbytery was rendered more complete, and its combined powers were made to bear with better effect upon the nation at large. The means of grace became more abundant than they had ever been in Scotland, and in the still existing remains of their sermons and other specimens of their ministrations, may be discerned an unction and an ardour which indicate the presence and the power of the Spirit. Men of great talents and profound learning, spent their strength in instant and unceasing prayer to God; in clear expositions and cogent applications of the word of truth, and, in short, in the watchful and unwearied use of all means fitted to impart spiritual life, and to promote every interest of personal and public religion. Such was the character of the principal instruments by whom this great work was promoted; and a large majority of the ministers in the land at length imbibed the same spirit, and copied after the same example. Is it too much to suppose, or would it not be wrong to doubt, that such a general, and earnest, and unwearied application of the means of revival was blessed of God for the remarkable manifestation of that holiness, which is a principal end of the church upon earth? When the Lord clothes his priests with salvation, as he then did, his saints will again shout in all the joy of a general prosperity.

In the period under consideration, the church was more blessed with the concurrence of the civil authorities, than she had formerly been. Such a combination, each power being restricted to its own peculiar sphere, is admirably calculated to make iniquity as ashamed to stop its mouth, and to secure to religion that public respect to which it is entitled. Men of good principle and decided piety, were preferred to public offices, and the whole business of the nation was characterised by an avowed deference to the au-

thority of God, and by general conformity to the rule of righteousness. There was a combination of magistrates and of masters, with ministers of the gospel, for the good of religion as a common cause ; and the means employed were thus admirably fitted to circulate and send home the truth, so that in every department of society it had free course and was glorified. Those who speak of this period as remarkable only for a clamour about covenants, and a contention about the mere outworks of religion, either evince a gross ignorance of its true history, or, which is worse, they betray indifference, if not hostility to religion in general, and a deplorable prejudice against such parts of the system of divine truth as refuse to comport with their peculiar and party views. In making and swearing the covenants, the presbyterians of the second reformation acted from the most enlightened and liberal views. They regarded such deeds as divinely appointed, and admirably calculated for constraining men to cleave to the public cause, and to one another in its maintenance. They set a high value upon the covenants, because they are warranted by the scriptures, and because of their subserviency to the interests of public as well as personal religion. But they were not more remarkable for saying, Let us keep our covenant with God, and with one another, than for saying, Let us remember the Sabbath, and observe all the ordinances of the Lord. In proportion to the fidelity of their adherence to their several engagements, they were constant in the faith, and they abounded in prayer, in the improvement of the word of God, and in the practice of universal holiness. Their general conduct accorded with the injunctions of inspiration, "Do all things without murmurings and disputings, that ye may be harmless and blameless, the sons of God without rebuke, among whom ye shine as lights in the world." In point of fact, the radical causes of that rancorous opposition which has all along been made to the covenants, is

the uncompromising hostility to sin, and the uniform love of genuine holiness which have distinguished their adherents; and were professing christians at a little more pains to inform themselves regarding these sacred deeds, they would never speak of them, we are persuaded, but in terms of profound veneration.

CHAPTER II.

Charles unwilling to remove malignant counsellors—presbyterian chaplains. English army invades Scotland—the king with the army at Leith—refuses to sanction a proclamation—is obliged to remove to Dunfermline—Dunfermline declaration—commencement of hostilities—battle of Dunbar—Cromwell enters Edinburgh—his intercourse with the city ministers. The royal favourites commanded to leave the kingdom—the start—Charles found at Clova, and returns to Perth—is admitted to the committee of estates—his apology—new levies—Westland army. Rise of division in the church—Westland remonstrance—offensive to the committee of estates, and condemned by many—measure for increasing the army approved by the commission, but condemned by many in the church—Coronation. Troubles of Messrs Guthrie and Bennet—admission of the king's favourites into committee of estates—committee for management of the army—abolition of the act of classes. Address of commission—consequences of public resolutions—General Assembly at St Andrews and Dundee opposed by protesters—proceedings against protesters. Remarks on parties in the church—Progress of war—misfortunes of the royalists—successes of Monk in Scotland—his cruelties at Dundee—the king's remarkable escape to France.

ALTHOUGH the king's reception in Scotland was accompanied with the congratulations of church and state, and with many demonstrations of joy and professions of loyalty, it was attended with other circumstances very much fitted to depress the royal spirits, and to confirm the prejudices which his majesty had previously imbibed against the kingdom. Before his departure from Breda, he had been expressly told that such men as Buckingham, Hamilton, and Lauderdale, must be removed from his court, and that they could on no account be permit-

ted to accompany him to Scotland. His majesty was also informed that it was indispensably necessary, in order to his investiture with public authority, that he should not associate with, or be served by, such as had proved themselves hostile to the constitution, or, by their malignancy, had rendered themselves obnoxious in the kingdom. By various artifices the demand had been formerly evaded; but now that the proscribed individuals had presumed to accompany their master, it was found necessary to take some decided steps for their immediate removal. For this purpose, the parliament prepared a list of more than twenty, including dukes, baronets, military officers, chaplains, &c.; and appointed the deputation, sent to congratulate his majesty upon his safe arrival, to put this list into his hand, with a mandate of parliament for their instant dismissal, with certification that unless the persons specified left the court without delay, they would be prosecuted for contempt of parliament.¹ It was also insisted upon that the king should submit to the ministrations of presbyterian chaplains, whose modes of worship were, on many accounts, any thing but congenial to his taste. It may be questioned, if these excellent men, by the very length and frequency of the devotional exercises in which his majesty was called to join, and by their strict adherence to all the forms to which they were themselves conscientiously attached, did not trespass the rules of prudence, and act a part fitted to defeat the high ends which they so seriously contemplated. Without violating the principles of christianity, or endangering their established system of ecclesiastical polity, they might have done many things to diminish the prejudices which Charles had unfortunately entertained against them, and to convince him that true religion requires the sacrifice of no real pleasure, but

¹ Balfour's Historical Works, iv. 65.

is in every respect fitted to promote the purest enjoyment of man. If they erred, however, it was on the safer extreme ; and few who truly sympathize with them, in the public cause, will have much hesitation in approving of what was now done for the removal of evil counsellors, who were proscribed by law, and for the appointment of servants in whom the public could confide.

Besides the preservation of their liberties, which the church and parliament of Scotland steadily contemplated in all their negotiations with the king, and in all their arrangements respecting his court, the public authorities were obliged to conduct themselves as under the eye of England, which closely observed all their movements, and regarded them with the utmost jealousy. Anxious to convince their southern neighbours, that the late invasion, under the duke of Hamilton, was not the act of the Scottish nation, but of a faction, they instituted the closest inquiries after all who were concerned in it, and visited those who were found guilty with severe penalties. If the Scots, however, supposed that such proceedings would conciliate the English, they soon found themselves greatly mistaken. Hamilton's invasion was an offence,—a flagrant violation of the good faith of Scotland, which had been pledged in the most solemn manner to the reformers in England; and such was the view of the subject taken by the covenanters in both kingdoms. But the agreement which the Scots had made with the king, and their reception of his majesty into their dominions, were, in the account of those now possessing the supreme power in England, far greater offences than anything yet attempted by Hamilton, or by any other directly opposed to them. His admission into Scotland was regarded by his majesty as a step in his ascent to the throne of Britain. The English understood his intentions, and in this sense they had construed his

negotiations with the Scots from the commencement. They accordingly declared the king's arrival to be equivalent with a proclamation of war against them on the part of the Scots. In expectation of extremities, both countries made every possible preparation. Fairfax, who was now at the head of the English army, refused to accept the command in the new campaign, alleging some scruples about the warrantableness of invading Scotland, and of commencing offensive operations against a sister kingdom. The appointment was then conferred upon Cromwell, lately recalled from Ireland, where he had given the most ample pledges of the vigour with which he would conduct a similar enterprise against Scotland. Such was the expedition with which England prepared her forces, that within a month of the king's landing in Scotland, Cromwell advanced to the banks of the Tweed, at the head of an army consisting of 16,000 veteran troops. The approach of this army, preceded as it was by the reports of the successes and horrid cruelties which had accompanied its progress in Ireland, was fitted to paralyze all opposition, and to deter the Scots from offering any resistance. Evincing, accordingly, a reluctance to the commencement of hostilities, the defenders at first had recourse to remonstrance, and dispatched letters to the public authorities in England, complaining of the seizure of some of their vessels, and of the infraction of former treaties.

But, meanwhile, they prepared for the worst. When it is considered what provisions and arrangements were necessary in consequence of the king's arrival, and what urgent demands were now made for new levies of money and men, with the extensive military preparations which were indispensably requisite to resist the enemy, it will appear that the pressure of public business must have been very great; and had it not been for the wisdom and activity of those at the head of affairs, general con-

fusion and immediate discomfiture must have ensued. The difficulties of the present crisis were greatly enhanced by the doubts entertained by some, both in church and state, respecting the propriety of the war. Many of considerable weight in respect of character and influence, considered that their danger from the king and his malignant favourites was perhaps greater than their danger from the army of England. And it cannot be denied that there were strong reasons for such apprehensions; but his majesty had been received into the kingdom on explicit terms, and, unless he had forfeited all claim to their loyalty, they were bound in honour to defend him from the English, or from any others that might dare to invade his territories. By the address of Argyll and others, these difficulties were in the mean time surmounted; but the propriety of the means they were constrained to adopt for this purpose has been disputed, and in most instances strongly condemned.

The command of the Scottish army was conferred upon General Leslie, a man of great military experience; and the high order of his talents was above all dispute. Edinburgh and Leith were wisely chosen by him as the place of rendezvous; and while preparations were in progress, the king arrived in the camp, and was received by the soldiers with the highest demonstrations of joy. In a short time, the presence of his majesty attracted a considerable number who had been concerned in Hamilton's and Montrose's campaigns, and who were, on various accounts, very offensive to the reformers. Emboldened by the presence of their master, the malignants soon assumed an air of importance, and made it evident that they were to fight on their own principles, and in defence of their own party interests. It was in consequence of such demonstrations as these, that new penances and humbling declarations were required from his majesty. The presbyterians sounded an alarm, declaring that there was danger in their

own camp, and unless some healing measure had been instantly employed, a schism must have taken place in the army, which could not fail to have confounded them before the enemy. Soon after the king's arrival in the camp, a proclamation had been circulated in his name, acknowledging "that the Lord had been pleased in his abundant kindness to convince him of the sins of his past life, and blessed the endeavours of the kirk and kingdom so as to induce him to swear the covenants, and give satisfaction to their desires,—that he was prepared to acquiesce in any proposals that might be made by the free parliament of England for settling the kingdom and securing liberty,—that although the army under lieutenant-general Cromwell, sent by the sectaries of England, after murdering the king, using force to the two houses of parliament, and oppressing the people, had now invaded Scotland, contrary to the Solemn League and Covenant, and the treaty between the kingdoms; yet, being persuaded that many of the officers and soldiers had been misled by the craft and cunning of others, he offered a free pardon and indemnity to all of them who should leave that army and join the Scots, where they should be courteously used and entertained, excepting those only who had sat in the high court of justice, and voted for his father's death."

This proclamation was certainly fitted to promote his majesty's interest, and was less calculated to offend him by those asperities of expression which, in the ardour of their zeal, the covenanters frequently employed. But, instigated by his private advisers, the king refused to give it his sanction, or to offer to the English any such encouragement as it contained. Nothing could, in present circumstances, have been more unfavourable to his majesty's cause than his dissent from the proclamation. It confirmed the suspicions of those who had formerly stood in doubt of him, and it laid many of his cordial supporters

under strong temptations to listen to the proposals of the opposite party. The presence of the king with the army had created a strong impression in his favour, and, had he been allowed to remain a little longer, the number of his personal friends, and his increased influence in the army, might have enabled him to wrest the reins of government from the covenanters, and, supported by such as were more congenial to his wishes, to enter the lists with the enemy and decide his fate on the field of battle. But the clergy, having sounded the alarm, urged all that would listen to them to be on the alert against malignants, and they succeeded in procuring a demand upon his majesty instantly to leave the camp, and to remove to a convenient distance. Much against his wishes, the king retired to Dunfermline. At the same time, and for similar reasons, the army was sifted, and, according to the lowest calculations, about eighty officers were dismissed on account of malignancy.

In a short time, the king was presented by commissioners of church and state with a Declaration which must have been far more revolting to his feelings than any thing contained in the above proclamation. The design of it was to conciliate the favour of many who seemed prepared to abandon him on account of his recent conduct, as they had rejected the services of many for their attachment to him; but it was chiefly intended to contradict the charges that were now published against them by Cromwell, and industriously circulated by his agents. That artful politician and talented general not only knew how to marshal his forces on the field of battle and to lead them onward to triumph; he could also address the public mind with such artful statements, moving remonstrances, and plausible professions, as were really fitted to present his cause in a very imposing light, and to induce the enemy to desist from hostility, if not to make him a convert to

his views. This was one part of his policy when he invaded Scotland. He insisted everywhere that the public authorities, by recalling the son, had done what amounted to an approbation of the erastian and despotic principles of the father; that by their conduct they had condemned the whole reformation attained since 1638, and that they seemed to consider that all the struggles undergone, and the blood shed for its attainment were in vain; he assured them that all that the king had done in taking the covenant was mere pretence, and that, in trusting him and fighting for him, the Scots had betrayed a credulity which would soon render them the objects of general pity and contempt. Such representations could not fail to affect very deeply the minds of the covenanters, who, from a conviction of their consistency in many points with truth, must have felt themselves unable to resist their force. They were convinced that no arguments used by themselves could sufficiently refute the charges of Cromwell, and that, if refuted at all, it must be by his majesty himself denying such imputations of hypocrisy as were exhibited against him, and declaring anew his attachment to the covenants and to the whole cause of the reformation. It was for these purposes that a declaration of the following tenor was prepared and presented for his approval: He was called to express "his sense of the merciful dispensation of divine providence, by which he has been recovered out of the snares of evil counsel, and his full persuasion and confidence of the loyalty of his people of Scotland, from whom he had too long stood at a distance; the righteousness of their cause, and of his determination to join in one covenant with them, and to cast himself and his interests upon God, following the advice of his parliament in matters civil, and the General Assembly or their commissioners in matters ecclesiastical. He lamented his father's opposition to the work of God, and the bloodshed which had followed

the idolatry of his mother, and the sin incurred by its toleration in the king's house, and his own former misconduct, which, although it might be extenuated by the evil advice he had listened to, and the treatment his family had received at the hand of the sectaries, yet he only hoped would be forgiven by God, through the blood of his Son Jesus Christ." He was called to profess, "that he entered into the covenant-oath without any sinister intentions, or crooked design for attaining his own ends; but, so far as human weakness would permit, in the truth and sincerity of his heart; and that he was firmly resolved, in the Lord's strength, to adhere to, and prosecute the same, to the utmost of his power in his station and calling, really, constantly, and sincerely, all the days of his life." It contained an acknowledgment of his sin in combining with the Irish against his people, and a condemnation of all that he had done in commissioning Montrose and other malignants to rise in arms against the existing government. And it employed the same conciliatory style to the English and Irish, as the proclamation that had been formerly made in his name. In its conclusion there was an expression of hope "that whatever had been his former guiltiness before God, and the bad success that those had who owned his affairs whilst he stood in opposition to the work of God, yet the state of the question being now altered, and he having obtained mercy to be upon God's side, and to prefer God's interest to his own, the Lord would be gracious and countenance his own cause, in the hands of weak sinful instruments, against all enemies whatsoever."

This paper, however expressive of that repentance which was greatly to be desired on the part of the king, was certainly very repugnant to his real sentiments, and fitted to confirm his inveterate prejudices against the covenanters. He did not, however, spurn it away from him on its first proposal, but received the messengers graciously, and delayed his

reply until he had returned from a hunting excursion. Having consulted his friends, he was led to the determination that he would not sanction such a paper, and he stated some special objections to it on the ground of its reflections on the memory of his late father. This refusal led the commission of the Assembly to pass what has been designated "a terrible act," intimating in strong language their determination to support the king no longer than he supported the cause of God; "that they espoused no malignant quarrel or party, nor acknowledged the king or his interest otherwise than in subordination to God, but would vindicate themselves from the aspersion that they owned and supported his majesty in all the proceedings with the late king."

It is almost impossible to contemplate Charles in his present circumstances, without being moved with compassion for him, subjected, as he was, to the rack, by the stern demands of a people to whom he had committed himself, and compelled to make the most humiliating confessions in the sight of the kingdoms which he believed were bound to render him implicit obedience. "Never," says Cook, whose invective upon this subject is in the same strain with that of Laing, and most of our popular historians,—“never was a more painful insult offered to a degraded monarch.” In the tenderness of our feelings for the young prince, however, we are too ready to forget the duty we owe to the guardians of our liberties, and what is more, the respect which is due to the cause of God. It is very easy for men, who can speak as if the church should be governed by the absolute dictates of an earthly sovereign, and cast her crown before the throne of a temporal head, to shed tears of compassion over a mortified prince. But those who can understand and appreciate, like our reforming ancestors, the spiritual independence of the kingdom of Christ, and his supreme headship, will feel for the men who were now reduced to the

greatest perplexity on account of the dangers to which all that they had done, by the good hand of God upon them, for a number of years, in reforming the church, was exposed. We, who have hitherto enjoyed more peaceful times, may impugn their proceedings, but it is difficult to shew by what milder measures they could have done justice to the public interests. If they did err, it was on what may be called a right hand extreme, and instead of stigmatizing their proceedings in terms of unqualified reprobation, we ought to sympathize with men who, embarked in the best of causes, were brought into such circumstances of difficulty and distress as demanded measures not to be scanned by common rules. Had they allowed his majesty, and that malignant faction to which his ears were always open, to put themselves at the head of the army, in all probability the tragedies that followed the restoration had been opened ten years earlier.

The "terrible act" was intentionally communicated to Cromwell, but it produced no conciliatory effect; and Charles was at length, by the force of circumstances, induced to subscribe the Declaration, after they had agreed to soften and modify some of its most offensive expressions.

But while the Scots were engaged in such unpleasant and unseasonable contests with the king, respecting his principles and former practices, hostilities of a more tangible description had commenced between the armies. On crossing the border, the English found that they had been expected, and that the Scots had taken every precaution for the purpose of exposing the enemy, on their march, to all the disadvantages that arise from invading a foreign country, with an offended people. Every article of subsistence was removed; not an able-bodied man was to be seen; and, but for the presence of a few females and children, the country would have presented the aspect of blank desolation; while those

who remained seemed to entertain as much dread of the English soldiery as if they had been just returned from the perpetration of the Irish massacre, with the avowed intention of inflicting similar miseries upon Scotland. Cromwell endeavoured to dispel their fears, and to engage their confidence, by flattering promises and pacific demonstrations. As he marched his forces northward, the fleet proceeded along the coast to supply him with necessary provisions, and to enable him, in case of necessity, to escape from the enemy, and return to England. His progress met no resistance until he came to Edinburgh, where Leslie had collected a powerful army, and made such a disposition of his forces as was best fitted to enable him to offer a most vigorous opposition. The locality of Edinburgh afforded a vantage ground for defence that is seldom surpassed; and Leslie possessed all the military skill necessary to avail himself of it. The castle was devoted to the protection of his right wing; Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crag were employed as outposts; the Calton Hill was planted with cannon, and Leith was regularly fortified. Every opening was pre-occupied with military forces, and batteries were prepared to open and pour a flood of fire along every avenue.

In the commencement of hostilities, the clouds of heaven seemed to be at war with the enemy, who were exposed to drenching rains sufficient to extinguish an ordinary ardour of spirits. The English general soon perceived the impregnable strength of the Scottish army, and, too cautious for exhausting his resources to no purpose, he, after a few skirmishes in which he was generally a loser, retreated, doubting of the propriety of prosecuting an enterprise apparently desperate. Leslie, encouraged by the successful resistance he had offered to an enemy who had been considered all but invincible, in order to harass, if not to intercept his retreat, sallied out of

the town at different places, and subjected him to considerable annoyance. Several encounters ensued, the most considerable of which was at Stonyhill, a house on the western side of the Esk, where major-generals Montgomery and Strachan, with eight hundred brave men, well armed with cuirasses, lances, and pistols, expecting to find the enemy fatigued, fell upon them and speedily routed a regiment of cavalry; but the infantry being better prepared for the assailants, successfully resisted and repulsed them with considerable loss. To contradict the reports of cruelty which, in consequence of his severities to the Irish, were industriously circulated in Scotland, Cromwell, in announcing his victory to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, conveyed the wounded into the city in carts, as a proof of his humanity.

After remaining for a short time in his quarters at Musselburgh, and employing various manœuvres to bring out Leslie to an open engagement, Cromwell marched his army in the direction of Haddington and Dunbar. It is uncertain what were his real intentions by this movement. But, considering his embarrassing circumstances, and the formidable difficulties in the way of prosecuting the war, it is not improbable that he was all but resolved to embark for England. He was now followed by the Scots, who, taking advantage of the heights of Lammermuir, found a position even more advantageous for offensive operations than what they had left at Edinburgh. "The situation of Cromwell was apparently desperate. His retreat was intercepted by Cockburnspath, through which it was impossible to penetrate with Leslie on his rear; but in this desperate extremity, when he had prepared to embark his artillery and foot, and to break through with his cavalry to Berwick, he was relieved by the good fortune which, upon all occasions, attended his arms."¹ Previous to this, Crom-

¹ Laing's Hist. of Scotland, iv. 458.

well could not fail to be mortified at the superior generalship of Leslie, and in finding his own prospects, which were a little before so bright, all but blasted.

But a single false movement on the part of the Scots completely altered the circumstances of both armies. It is common to acquit Leslie, and to impute the whole blame to a committee of church and state, awarding the largest share to the clergy, an order of men guilty, on the verdict of others besides the vulgar, of most of the disasters that occur both by sea and land. Whatever was the cause, Leslie came down from his commanding station, and, in order to block up more effectually the passage of the English, and cut off their retreat, he placed his army on a narrow space between the bottom of the hill from which they had descended, and the sea. This movement was contemplated with intense interest by the English general, who, soon appreciating its importance to his cause, concurred with his officers in considering it as affording a fair opportunity for an attack. It was immediately determined to commence operations next morning, and the requisite arrangements were made respecting the order of battle. The Scottish army was considerably superior in numbers, but it was surpassed by the enemy in point of discipline. The *word* of the former was "the covenants," and that of the latter "the Lord of Hosts." Cromwell appointed six regiments of horse, and three and a half of foot to form the van, and to commence an attack at day-break.

It was about six o'clock in the morning of the third day of September, when Fleetwood and Whalley led the charge, which was made and received with almost equal bravery. So long as the contest was conducted by the cavalry, little advantage was gained on either side. The English infantry were at first bravely repulsed; but when Cromwell's own regiment advanced and resolutely charged, they car-

ried all before them, while the English horse broke the ranks of the Scots, and introduced general confusion. The sun about this time broke through the density of the morning, and Cromwell shouted, "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered." It was no longer possible for the Scots to rally; their rout became general and complete. The infantry turned their backs, and consulted their safety by flight, leaving behind them their arms, artillery, and baggage. Two regiments fought in desperation till cut to pieces by the enemy. More than three thousand were killed in the pursuit; five thousand wounded prisoners were dismissed from the field; and an equal number, after being conducted prisoners into England, were sent to the plantations. It is admitted on all hands that the loss of the English was comparatively small, but the accounts of those who estimate it at about twenty men cannot be credited. Cromwell concluded the work of the day by calling his soldiers to unite with him in singing the hundred and seventh psalm; and then the army "returned to bless God in their tents, for the great salvation afforded to them that day."

The disastrous defeat of the covenanters at Dunbar, is commonly represented as having been no less gratifying to Charles than it was to Cromwell. But while the king contemplated with satisfaction the prostration of a party whose principles he detested, and at whose late proceedings against himself and his favourites, he still burned with indignation, he could have no hope of obtaining any countenance to his claims from the English, and he must have been filled with alarm at the success of a powerful adversary, intent upon the possession of all that was dear to him. And although he could unite with Buckingham and other profane associates, in deriding the religious devotions of the covenanters, and in treating their confidence in the Most High with expressions of contempt, he wrote a letter of condolence to such of

them, as it was supposed might be rendered more subservient to his purposes, in which he uses the very terms and phrases that the leading covenants were accustomed to employ. "There is nothing," says the royal hypocrite, "under the sun, that is not subject to sudden and strange alterations. God Almighty is only unchangeable, and therefore it is we are not consumed; and of all the affairs in the world, nothing is subject to so many accidents as an army in matters of war. To-day nothing so glorious and terrible as an army with banners;—tomorrow, as in an hour's space, nothing so confused and so weak, when then the terror of God falls upon them, and they turn their backs, and the men of might find not their hands, then that that was before goodly and dreadful, is in an instant despicable and contemptible. We cannot but acknowledge that the stroke and trial is very hard to be borne, and would be impossible for us and you in human strength; but in the Lord's we are bold and confident, who hath always defended this ancient kingdom, and transmitted the government of it upon us, from so many worthy predecessors, who in the like difficulties have not fainted; and they had only the honour and civil liberties of the land to defend, but we have with you, religion, the gospel, and the covenant, against which hell shall not prevail, much less a number of sectaries stirred up by it. We acknowledge that what hath befallen us, is just from God, for our sins and those of our house, and of the whole land; and all the families in it have likewise helped to pull down the judgment and to kindle the fierce wrath. We shall strive to be humbled, that the Lord may be appeased, and that he may turn to the thousands of his people and comfort us, according to the days that we have been afflicted, and the years that we have seen evil."¹

¹ Aikman's Hist. vol. iv. 401.

Such dissimulation, when practised by men like Charles, is commonly smiled at as a venial farce; while sincere and consistent piety is stigmatized as disgusting hypocrisy. In order to expose the leading presbyterians to contempt, every species of ridicule was now directed against them, and the defeat at Dunbar was attributed to their officious and impertinent interference. By such means it was intended to prevent the rallying of a party that had hitherto manifested a successful opposition to the endeavours of his majesty to take the supreme power into his own hand, and to commit the management of public affairs to men whose principles were congenial to his own. His great object was to subdue the covenanters, to unite the more facile among them with those of his own faction, who had been proscribed for their share in the late engagement against England and Scotland, and thus to enable himself to repel the victorious invaders of the kingdom; when, so soon as he found leisure, he would conform the whole constitution to his own views, regardless of the covenants, and in spite of all who befriended the cause which had repeatedly been ratified by the most solemn vows.

After his surprising success at Dunbar, Cromwell returned in triumph to the metropolis, and, with the exception of the castle, he found every gate open for his admission. He now professed to lament the miseries of Scotland, and maintained with most solemn protestations, that "ever since he came into the country, it had been his desire and longing to have avoided blood, by reason that God had people in it who feared his name, though deceived; and to that end he had offered much love unto such in the bowels of Christ, and concerning the truth of his heart in that matter he had appealed unto the Lord." Cromwell had rendered himself very obnoxious to most of the Scottish clergy; the Edinburgh ministers especially shunned him as the enemy of their country and religion. Like most of the sectarians, this mili-

tary democrat boasted of his liberality, and pretended to hold out the right hand of fellowship to all professing the name of Jesus. In the tenderness of his compassion for the poor ministers of Edinburgh, he told them that they had nothing to fear, and he "sent a trumpet to the castle to assure them they might safely resume their labours, for he had no quarrel with them on the score of religion." The value of such professions will be estimated by the reader, when he is informed that, at this very time, the soldiers, with the full approbation of their general, had taken possession of the Edinburgh pulpits, and, in contempt of all the order revered in Scotland, respecting a regularly ordained ministry, the covenants, and the other protections of the sacred inclosure, these laymen spouted the fashionable liberalism, and other levelling doctrines of England. Having vanquished the military forces of Scotland, they now assailed, in another way, the ecclesiastical constitution of the country, and, inflated with success, they assumed an air of triumph, as if no kind of opposition could resist their progress. This was liberality with a vengeance! The faithful ministers of Christ allowed to proceed in the free exercise of their clerical functions, while laymen, of whose principles they knew nothing, and for the soundness of whose doctrines they had no security, stepped before them into their pulpits, and did what they could to unsettle and to scatter their flocks! Cromwell, pluming himself more upon his powers as a theological polemic than as a military commander, entered the lists with the unbending presbyterians, lecturing them for their obstinacy, and schooling them on the warrant and qualifications necessary in preachers of the gospel. It was vain to tell him about a regular commission to dispense divine ordinances, or about any thing relating to the scriptural order of the house of God. When they objected to his admission of intruders into pulpits, as the certain way of deluging the country with erroneous doctrines,

as had already been done in England, he treated their scruples in the most supercilious and arrogant style. In what he offered for answers and argument may be discovered the same spirit of disrespect for the pastoral office, which has all along been manifested by the advocates of lay preaching. Under ardent professions of zeal for the publication of the gospel, he repudiated as illiberal and bigoted everything fitted to preserve order and uniformity in the house of God, and asserted the right of every man to preach, and to proceed in religious matters as he had a mind. "What is this," was his reply to the objections of the presbyterians, "but to deny christians their liberty, and assume the infallible chair? Where do you find in Scripture that preaching is included within your function? Though an approbation from men has order in it, and may be well, yet that which hath not a better than that, hath none at all. I hope He who hath ascended on high may give his gifts to whom He pleases; and if those gifts be the seal of mission, are not you envious though Eldad and Medad prophesy? take care you envy not, for your own sakes, lest you be guilty of a greater fault than Moses reproved in Joshua, when he envied for his sake. Your pretended fear lest error should step in, is like the man that would keep all the wine out of the country lest men should be drunk."¹ Such a declaration is peculiarly fitted to impose on the simple and ill-informed, and those to whom it was addressed could not contemplate it but with feelings of alarm and vexation. It was a specimen of the influence to be exerted on the public mind, for the purpose of undermining an ecclesiastical constitution, which they had with great difficulty been enabled to erect upon a scriptural foundation, and for introducing in its place some motley system at variance with itself, and ever shifting with the winds and tides of popular

¹ Neal's Hist. of Puritans, vol. ii., 565.

opinion. Cromwell ought to have known that a leading design of the presbyterians was to promote the unity of the church upon right principles, and to combine her energies for the preaching of the gospel to every creature, and especially to all, even to the poorest in our own land. And yet, when the governor of Edinburgh castle complained of "men of secular office usurping the office of the ministry, to the scandal of the reformed churches," the general replied in terms that bear internal evidence of being, by the speaker, considered unanswerable, while their utter want of any thing like argument is only equalled by the grossness of their misapplication;—"Are ye troubled because Christ is preached? Does it scandalize the reformed churches, and Scotland in particular? Is it against the covenants? Away with the covenant if it be so. I thought the covenant and these men would have been willing that any should speak good of the name of Christ; if not, it is no covenant of God's approving; nor the kirk you mention so much as the spouse of Christ." The arguments of Cromwell, if arguments they could be called, were not fitted to reduce the strongholds of presbytery, or to convert the Edinburgh ministers; but seconded, as they were, in a voice of thunder, uttered by the cannon, then employed in battering the walls of the castle, they were certainly calculated to awaken their fears.

In the pride of his present success, Cromwell seemed to regard the late victory as decisive of the question at issue between England and Scotland, and a divine settlement of the controversy carried on between presbyterians and independents. "We could wish," was his reply to the governor, who had said, "we have not so learned Christ as to hang the equity of a cause upon events," "that blindness had not been upon your eyes to these marvellous dispensations God has lately wrought in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did we not do so too? And ought not we and you to think with fear

and trembling on the hand of the great God in this mighty and strange appearance of his, and not slightly call it an event? Were not your expectations and ours renewed from time to time, whilst we waited upon God to see how he would manifest himself upon our appeals? And shall we, after all these our prayers, fastings, tears, expectations, and solemn appeals, call these bare events?" It is scarcely necessary to state what innumerable evils and absurdities would ensue, were men to act on the principle that a cause is good because they are in the mean time successful in the maintenance of it; or that the cause in which we are embarked is wrong, because the enemy has in some instances prevailed against us. Cromwell himself did not uniformly act on any such principle, and the person who professes to do so could scarcely expect to be generally accounted in his right mind.

General Leslie, after leaving Dunbar, retired with the miserable remains of his army to Stirling, where the committee of estates and the commission of the General Assembly had met, and were employed in serious deliberations respecting their duty in the present crisis. Although Leslie had acted with the concurrence of his officers, and had not, as some maintained, allowed his judgment to be overruled by the clergy, a considerable number now insisted that his commission should be withdrawn, and that the appointment should be conferred upon one in whom they could repose full confidence. He had been for some time less acceptable to those who were most rigid in their endeavours to support and execute the laws against malignants, and his present misfortunes called forth their decided opposition. The general was as ready to tender his resignation as they could be to accept it; but difficulties arose respecting a fit successor, and, in consequence of the indignation of the remaining officers, who were disposed to resent the dishonourable treatment of their able and esteemed commander, by resigning their commissions, he was earnestly

entreated to continue in his office by all, except some few who entered their dissent.¹

The leading presbyterians in church and state were strongly condemned by the king's party, as the cause of all their recent disasters ; but they were men of such calibre as could patiently bear reproaches on account of religion from the ungodly and profane. While the king and his courtiers were at Perth, indulging themselves in bitter and boundless invectives against them, they, in a spirit of devout but undaunted submission, emitted a short declaration and warning to all the congregations. "Although," is their language, "the Lord, whose judgments are unsearchable, and whose ways are past finding out, hath brought the land very low, under the hand of a prevailing enemy ; yet we must not forbear to declare the mind of God, nor others to hearken to it. It were superfluous to give answer to the many calumnies and reproaches that are blazoned abroad ; for in everything we cannot justify the conduct of the army, yet we hold it our duty to warn every one not to believe groundless reports, but rather to eye the Lord, and to look to the hand that smites them." They called upon every one of all classes to consider seriously his trespasses against the Lord, to make full and ingenuous acknowledgment of sin, with fervent supplications for mercy to pardon their iniquities, and to remove the many testimonies of divine displeasure then given against them. They ought to consider what had befallen them as designed to prove their establishment to the truth. "As the Lord has tried the stability and integrity of his people in the land heretofore, by the prevailing of malignants, so doth he now try them by the prevailing of sectaries ; and we trust they will think it their duty and commendation to prove stedfast against them as well as against the other." After warning them against every dishonour-

¹ Baillie's Letters, ii., 350.

able compromise with the enemy, they encouraged all classes to bear their reverses with becoming submission. "It concerns all the inhabitants of the land to beware of murmuring and complaining against God's dispensations, and questioning the truth and goodness of our cause, or quarrelling with God, or blaming or casting off the covenant because of anything that hath befallen them; that were a great iniquity, not to be pardoned. Let us bear the indignation of the Lord patiently, because we have sinned against him, until he plead our cause, and execute judgment for us: he will bring us forth to the light, and our eyes shall behold his righteousness."¹

About the same time the commission of the General Assembly, with the concurrence of the committee of estates, ordained a national fast to be observed, and they published the reasons of this appointment in their present circumstances. From the prominent part given to malignants, and to the sins of his majesty's household in the document, it appears to have been drawn up by Patrick Gillespie and James Guthrie, who evinced a vigilant jealousy over the movements of the king and his accomplices. It contains a faithful exhibition of public sins, and the danger to which they were exposed from the displeasure of the Most High. But its terms were too plain and explicit for such as had not abandoned the hope that the king might yet be induced to befriend their cause, and, forsaking all the errors and follies of his youth, to devote himself to the promotion of the best interests of his country. In a number of parishes, especially in Fife, the clergymen refused to read the reasons for fasting, which were authorized by the commission, alleging "that five or six men were too bold to give out reasons to a whole church, without a more full attendance of their brethren." The committee of estates seconded the efforts of the church against

¹ Balfour's Historical Works, vol. iv. p. 101.

malignants, by demanding the removal of all "profane, scandalous, malignant, and disaffected persons from the king's house;" and by endeavouring to fill their places with those who were "pious, well-affected to the cause and covenant, and who have not opposed the same by their counsels and actions." An order was emitted without delay for enforcing the act of parliament, commanding more than twenty of the king's principal servants and favourites to leave the court in twenty-four hours, and the kingdom within twenty days; and a list of their names was at the same time put into the hands of the public authorities, with a peremptory injunction to carry the order into full execution. When these bold measures were made known to Charles, he desired Sir James Balfour "to forbear intimation to nine of them, whose names he marked upon the roll, until he spoke to the lord chancellor, to whom and to the committee he had written to spare these until the meeting of parliament; but he desired him to go on with the rest of them." On the following day his majesty received a letter from the committee of estates, containing an absolute refusal to allow any of the said persons to remain, and intimation was made to all of them accordingly.¹

The king now felt that it was more easy to deride the party in power, and to unite with his courtiers in exulting over their defeat at Dunbar, than to resist their authority. He had fondly hoped that their recent misfortunes would reduce the clergy and covenanters in general to what he considered more reasonable terms; and that there would be no longer any formidable opposition to the removal of those disabilities for public service, to which many had been subjected by the act of classes. But finding their principal leaders as uncompromising as ever, and despairing of being able to form any conjunction

¹ Balfour, ut supra, 112.

of even the moderate of that party with the royalists, he had recourse to what he considered to be the only remaining expedient demanded by his extreme circumstances. An extensive conspiracy was formed between him and the most influential of his friends in the neighbourhood, and throughout the north. The king was to effect his escape on a certain day, and a thousand highlanders were, at the same time, to rush out of Athol and arrest the committee of estates; Lord Dudhope was to seize the town of Dundee; Ogilvie to collect as many to the royal standard as possible in Angus; and Middleton and Huntly engaged to rally their forces in the north. The plot was, however, in a great measure frustrated by the indecision of the king, and the unexpected and peremptory orders for the removal of so many of his servants. Charles, finding himself little at ease in the presence, and under the inspection of so many, whose sentiments and sympathies were utterly repugnant to his own,—wearied with the sermons, prayers, and piety of the presbyterians, and, it was believed, seduced by the artful insinuations of his courtiers, and suspicious of designs against his personal safety, now determined to effect his escape, and to throw himself at all hazards upon the resources of his own party. On the fourth day of October, professing to go out on a hawking excursion, he left Perth about two o'clock with a few of his servants. But after proceeding slowly through the South Inch, he started off with the utmost speed, and in an hour and a half reached Dudhope in the neighbourhood of Dundee, and was conveyed by the earl of Buchan, and viscount Dudhope, to Cortachy, the residence of the earl of Airly, an excommunicated papist. After a short stay, he was escorted by a party of highlanders to an humble cottage in that neighbourhood, belonging to the laird of Clova. Having endured the fatigue of riding forty-two miles, and discovering his hopes of an army to be utterly unfounded, Charles

threw himself down "in a nastie rounge on ane old bolster, above a matte of segges and rushes, ouerweieried and wery fearfull."¹

In these wretched circumstances was the king found next morning by colonel Montgomery, who had been dispatched in quest of him with a party of horse by the committee of estates. While the colonel endeavoured to persuade his majesty that his fears of being delivered up to the English were utterly groundless, and earnestly importuned him to return, Dudhope, and a few Clova men, who were his guards, were no less earnest that the king should betake himself to the hills, where, they assured him, two thousand horse and five thousand foot were waiting his commands. But in a little, Montgomery's two regiments of horse appeared, which made Dudhope and the miserable guard desist from their entreaties; and his majesty was conducted to Castle Huntly the same night, and on the following day, (Sabbath) they arrived in Perth in time to hear "ane comfortable sermon in his own chamber," in the afternoon.

The measures adopted by the committee of estates, in consequence of his majesty's elopement, were of the mildest description. Commissioners were appointed to intercede with him, and he was addressed by a letter, beseeching him to return from that evil way, which, if he did not speedily repent of it, would prove destructive to himself, his posterity, and his kingdom. His prompt compliance with the invitation prevented those ruinous consequences which the *start*, as his elopement is called, was fitted to produce. He was received with open arms by all the presbyterians who befriended him before, and he was now speedily admitted as a member of the committee of estates. At their first meeting it was agreed to write a letter, in name of his majesty and estates,

¹ Balfour, *ut supra*, 144.

to the earl of Athol and his followers, commanding them to lay down their arms and submit to the government, under the pain of high treason; and three regiments of horse were appointed to watch their movements.

On the following day the committee of estates met, and his majesty expressed his sorrow that he had been misled by the deceptions of evil counsel, "at the time of the late unhappy business that befel him, and expressed his hope in God that it would hereafter prove useful both to him and them, for rendering their mutual confidence in each other more firm and efficient; and intimated that he had ordered his chancellor to declare his mind more fully, in respect he was not a very good orator himself." The king having done his best, Loudon then proceeded, at great length, to narrate the circumstances of the start, and, dilating on the false and fearful representations which had been made to his majesty, about his being betrayed into the hands of the English, the chancellor presented the whole matter in the most favourable light, and, to the utmost of his power, endeavoured to relieve his royal master from the awkward scrape into which he had fallen. In the end Charles, to complete the apology, added, "that as he was a christian when he first went, he had no mind to depart, and he trusted in God it would be a lesson to him all the days of his life." So completely was the whole matter accommodated, that an act of indemnity was passed in favour of all concerned in the projected insurrection, which had made such progress under Middleton, and a number of the malignant nobility, that Leslie, with all his cavalry, had been sent to oppose them.

"But," says Baillie, "when the northern storm was ended, the western winds began to blow the louder." Since the breaking up of the military force of the kingdom at Dunbar, the most strenuous endeavours had been employed to rally what remained, and, by new

levies, to recruit their strength as far as possible, in order to employ the most vigorous efforts for resisting the progress of their victorious adversary. In order to assist in the defence of their country, the clergy every where contributed their influence to the levies. In the west country, Mr Patrick Gillespie, a man uniformly distinguished as an advocate for the severest measures against malignants, and for the infliction of the highest censures upon such of his brethren as were suspected of favouring the royalists, acted a very prominent part. By his officious endeavours he succeeded in convening, at Kilmarnock, a number of the most influential gentlemen and ministers of Ayr, Clydesdale, Renfrew, and Galloway; and carried a motion to raise a powerful body of horse for the defence of the country. Gillespie also recommended to the notice of the meeting such officers as he conceived best qualified for the command of the westland forces; and it was agreed to give commissions for this purpose to colonels Ker, Strachan, Robert Halket, and Sir John Adair. Strachan, originally a man of dissolute habits, had rendered himself obnoxious to the presbyterians by serving, for a time, in the parliamentary army of England; but, having at length espoused the cause of the covenant, he made ample compensation for his former delinquencies, by the capture of Montrose and the suppression of the invasion headed by that notorious leader. Yet all his professions of attachment to the covenant, and the signal services he had rendered to the cause, with all the honours accruing to himself from these services, had not so fully eradicated his old attachment to the sectaries, as to prepare him for rejecting very tempting offers to abandon the cause of the presbyterians, and to join the standard of the English invader. In a short time a powerful body of cavalry was raised in the west, and their proportion was far higher than that of any other district in the kingdom. By the diligence of Gillespie and his coadjutors, their whole

proceedings received the sanction of parliament, and were successful beyond the expectations of their most sanguine projectors. The expenses of the enterprise at first seemed insurmountable to some of the more calculating lairds ; but Strachan's popularity, and various other causes, induced the church to collect a hundred thousand merks, which is said to have been the largest sum she had ever collected since the reformation. By such efforts the westland army became more powerful than any two regiments in the kingdom ; and had it cordially united with the other forces under Leslie, Cromwell might have been yet humbled so far as to be glad of an opportunity of returning to England. But Strachan refused to act under Leslie, who generously insisted for no control over him. The general of Gillespie's choice soon began to evince his leanings to the sectaries, and to state his scruples about fighting for the king in preference to Cromwell. Nor is it improbable that he received some countenance from his clerical patron, who, with Messrs Guthrie, Livingston, and others, had also been for some time indulging in doubts about the propriety of engaging in a war against England. The hesitation of these ministers on this subject now began to assume a more formidable aspect, and to affect more deeply the state of the church and the kingdom. For, acting in concurrence with Strachan and the other officers, at the head of a powerful army, which they regarded as in a great measure their own, they wielded this military force at their pleasure, and not only refused to unite with Leslie against the English, but seemed more disposed to negotiate an agreement with the enemy than to co-operate with their own countrymen. Thus was Scotland subjected to all the inconvenience and oppression necessarily resulting from the presence of three armies, each of which was, on various grounds, opposed to the other two. The progress of events did not repair these breaches.

In consequence of the king's elopement, Cromwell, having marched his forces back from Stirling as far as Linlithgow, offered to renew negociations with the committee of estates, and wrote a letter, dated the 9th October, expressing his earnest desire for an accommodation, in order to prevent any farther effusion of blood. "The grounds and ends of the army's entering Scotland," says he, "have been heretofore often and clearly made known unto you, and how much we have desired the same might be accomplished without blood; but, according to what returns we have received, it is evident your hearts had not that love to us, as we can truly say we had towards you; and we are persuaded those difficulties in which you have involved yourselves, by espousing your king's interest, and taking into your bosom that person in whom, notwithstanding what hath or may be said to the contrary, that which is really malignancy, and all malignants do centre; against whose family the Lord hath so eminently witnessed for blood guiltiness, not to be done away with by such hypocritical and formal shows of repentance as are expressed in his late declaration; and your strange prejudice against us as men of heretical opinions, which, through the great goodness of God to us, have been unjustly charged upon us; have occasioned your rejecting the overtures which, with a Christian affection, were offered to you before any blood was spilt, or your people had suffered damage by us." After deploring the evils occasioned by the war, and representing it as promoting the cause of papists and malignants, he beseeches them, by every thing sacred, "to give the state of England that satisfaction and security for their quiet and peaceable living by you, that may in justice be demanded from a nation giving so just ground to ask the same from those who have, as you, taken their enemy into their bosom, whilst he was in hostility against them; and it will be made good to you, that you may have a lasting and

durable peace with them, and the wish of a blessing upon you in all your religious and civil things." A copy of this letter to the committee of estates was also forwarded to the westland army. It is very doubtful if Cromwell was sincere in his proposals; but they were rejected by the committee of estates, on account of their exclusive terms respecting the king. The westland army, believing he would be answered by the committee of estates, resolved to return no direct answer to Cromwell; but in the mean time they sent him the following queries. "*Why is satisfaction demanded? What is the satisfaction demanded? For what is satisfaction demanded? What is the security ye would have? From whom is the security required? To whom is the security to be given?*" It soon appeared that Cromwell would not leave the country on security being given that the Scots would not endeavour to assert his majesty's claim to the English crown; but that he considered the wrongs Charles had already inflicted on Scotland, to be such as demanded his banishment from that country, or his perpetual imprisonment.

The correspondence between Cromwell and the Scots did not occasion any considerable delay of military preparations on either side. In their anxiety to conciliate Gillespie, Strachan, and their associates, and especially to obtain the assistance of the westland army against the English in the present emergency, the committee of estates appointed the earl of Cassillis, the marquis of Argyll, Friesland, and Brodie, with Mr Robert Douglas, to meet with them, and, if possible, to obviate their objections, and persuade them to unite with their brethren in defence of their country. But the causes of division were such that it was found impossible to remove them; and every endeavour for accommodation only served to widen the breach, and to render its effects the more alarming. The division in the army was accompanied with a similar schism in the church. Messrs Gilles-

pie, Guthrie, and some others, headed a party that proceeded so far as to condemn all the treaties with Charles as unwarrantable, and to advocate the necessity of entirely abandoning his cause in the kingdom, until he should give satisfactory evidence of a complete change in practice and in principles. The result of long and close deliberations among themselves was at length manifested in the synod of Glasgow, where Gillespie obtained the appointment of a committee "to consider the sins procuring the wrath of God on the land;" and got men of his own mind put upon it, who devolved the preparation of a draught upon himself. In this paper the strongest charges were preferred, not only against the king for his malignancy, but the committee of estates, and the General Assembly are charged with unfaithfulness in the whole of their managements in reference to the admission of his majesty into the kingdom, and the defence and settlement of the nation.

This production, which was allowed to obtain the sanction of the synod, would have attracted more general attention, had it not been superseded by a more full remonstrance upon the same subjects, presented a short time afterwards to the committee of estates, in name of the gentlemen, commanders, and ministers attending the western army. This famous document may be regarded as the production of the same party that had published the former one in name of the provincial synod of Glasgow; and it contains, perhaps, as full and explicit a representation of their views as is to be found any where else. The document is too long for being inserted entire; but some outline of it is essential to the history of this period. It is entitled, "The Humble Remonstrance of the Gentleman, Commanders, and Ministers, attending the Westland forces;" and it is addressed "To the Right Honourable the Committee of Estates."

After considering the late discomfiture of the public forces at Dunbar as an evidence of the divine

displeasure, and an impressive call for impartial inquiry into the provocations given to the Most High by all classes, the remonstrants proceed to specify these offences in particular. 1. The evil of their proceedings with the king; and here they distinguish between their sins and their duty. It was their duty to recognise his majesty's just rights, and to employ every lawful means for reclaiming him; but they had sinned greatly in admitting him to the kingdom, before he had given any satisfactory proof of unfeigned repentance for his sins in following the evil ways of his father, and in proceeding so far at variance with his duty and with the best interests of the country, as to pardon the Irish papists, who had shed the blood of so many thousand protestants, and to encourage Montrose to invade the kingdom. The king's simple acceptance of the covenant could not be regarded as an indication of repentance, or a pledge of reformation, while he was persisting in his former practice. 2. There was too great haste in a second address to the king without due deliberation, and before asking divine counsel, which were the more necessary, from the new evidences that then appeared of his intentions to terrify the kingdom into his measures. 3. In continuing the treaty, after it was discovered that the kingdom was actually invaded with his majesty's sanction. 4. The commissioners were (some of them) too forward to conclude the treaty, as they did not insist for the satisfaction demanded by the parliament, but employed men of evil principles to persuade the king to temporize, so that all his compliances could be nothing better than gross dissimulation and hypocrisy. 5. When the parliament had disapproved of various parts of the treaty at Breda, the commissioners did not intimate the same to him with sufficient plainness, but allowed him and a company of malignants to embark for Scotland, contrary to the most express instructions. And after the discovery of his intercourse

with James Graham respecting the invasion of Scotland, at the very time of the treaty, the king was admitted to the exercise of public authority without any proof of a "real change in him."

After all this, the remonstrants had waited patiently to see if the king would repent, and the grounds of divine displeasure be removed from his house. But it is now evident, that in all his professions, Charles had deceived the land; for, "1. He continues to encourage the same malignant party in the kingdom, and to prefer their company and counsels to all others. 2. He still corresponds with the most notorious enemies of the reformation, as the marquis of Ormond, and men of similar principles. 3. He refused to sign the Dunfermline declaration, till constrained by circumstances. 4. He has continued his endeavours to promote the malignants to places of power and trust. He is making urgent application to the commission of the General Assembly and committee of estates for a conjunction of the malignant party with others in defence of the kingdom. When his requests for this purpose were refused, he privately deserted the councils of the kingdom, and escaped, for the manifest purpose of joining malignant forces and opposing the lawful authorities." In consequence of these things, the remonstrants declared, "We disclaim all the guilt and sin of the king and of his house, both old and late; and declare that we cannot own him and his interest in the state of the quarrel betwixt us and the enemy, against whom (if the Lord will) we are to hazard our lives."

As a remedy of the past evils and a preventive of future sins and dangers, the remonstrants called their lordships to repent of their own sins, and to consider whether such offences as are already mentioned, (they briefly recount some of them) be not a sufficient ground for not entrusting the king with the exercise of public authority until he afford satisfactory evidence of repentance; and they call them to

employ their utmost vigilance and energy for the purpose of keeping under malignants in future; and particularly to detect and punish those of them that had lately manifested their hypocrisy.

II. Although the civil and ecclesiastical judicatories have fully vindicated themselves from the charge of entertaining a design to invade England and intrude his majesty upon that nation by arms; and although they could appeal to the Searcher of hearts that such a resolution was never entertained by the public authorities; yet they called their lordships to consider, as in the sight of God, "whether some influential persons in our councils be not justly chargeable with such intentions against England, for 'enriching themselves with the spoils;' and whether the Lord be not righteous in doing to this nation as many in our armies did to England, when called to their assistance, and as was intended again by a new invasion.

They are called to consider how great a provocation it is to contemplate an invasion without the same being determined by the proper authorities, and a call to it being manifested; and without "the previous removing of the Lord's controversy against the king, (whom justly the Lord has removed from the kingdom, whatever injustice was in man's part)" and with the expected support of the malignant party, while explicit professions and solemn protestations were made to the contrary.

"If it be sin to have committed to the king so much authority in Scotland, before he had reformed himself, it must be an aggravation of this guilt, to endeavour to set him upon the throne of England; such conduct amounting to a preference of man's interest to God's, and a betraying of his cause into the hands of one who retains a relentless hostility to the best interests of religion.

"The great and mother sin of this nation is our breach of covenant with God. We have been accustomed to make vows to God, and solemn engagements

against the sins that were believed to provoke his displeasure, but in so doing we have lied unto God, and deserve no more to be trusted by him; and as we desire to remember our own sins, so we humbly desire your lordships to lay to heart:

“1. How contrary ye have acted to the engagements ye came under to reform the judicatories and army, by employing none but such as were well affected to the public cause, in places of power and trust. Have not some among you frustrated means employed for that end; by your partial and interested dealings supported malignants in various ways, when it was for your own personal interests, reckoning it sufficient qualification for public offices ‘to be free from accession to the engagement, although otherwise malignant and profane;’ sparing those in higher and more important offices, who deserve to be excluded, while you ‘were doing some duty’ upon others of lower degree? And thus you have exposed yourselves to charges of partiality and dishonourable dealing.

“For the remedying of these evils, may it please your lordships to proceed, without delay, to the impartial performance of your duty, in removing from the king, the judicatories, and the army, all who are not qualified according to the laws and engagements of the kirk and parliament for that purpose; and to walk no longer in sin, when wrath is gone forth against the land. Let it be far from your lordships to hold fast deceit, and to persist in the commission of the very sin which you and the whole land have solemnly confessed.

“2. Although nothing could be more explicit than your professions and engagements against malignants, yet many of your lordships have admitted them into intimate friendship, introduced them to parliament, and to the personal acquaintance of the king; and you have thus given abundant evidence of an intention to put the management of the work of God into their hands.

“ When we consider the encouragement given to malignants in Holland—the bringing of them home—the endeavours used to keep them in the kingdom, and to give them free access to the court—the complaints made against any endeavours to reform the army—the obstructions offered to every attempt for the reformation of the king’s house and guards—the means used for the restoration of men that had been justly excluded, to high and influential offices, and the desire of some in the committee of estates to entrust with power some notorious malignants in Scotland, and to excite the malignants of England to arms in the cause of the kirk—the correspondence still maintained with the enemies of the cause abroad—the omission of qualifications in the late orders for new levies—and the attempts made for hastening the king’s coronation, while he has not abandoned his evil counsellors, and complied with the terms of the treaty;—and lastly, when we consider the late endeavours of many in the committee of estates to carry into effect the king’s proposition for a conjunction with the malignant party, and with clans and highlanders concerned in the late rebellion; we wonder that your lordships are not ashamed so quickly to have turned aside, and to have forgotten your late vows, and the many bonds that are upon you to abstain from such ways. And we humbly think that your lordships give too great occasion to the enemy, who has invaded our land, to charge you with a malignant design, and with setting up the old malignant interest.

“ For remedy whereof we humbly propose that you not only forsake such evil ways, and henceforth abhor all conjunction with persons who are opposed to the whole reformation work; but that you without delay adopt effectual measures for the removal of such as shall be found to have promoted the above-mentioned evil designs, from the committee of estates, the army, the court, and all other places of trust, that the work

of the Lord may not be endangered through their pernicious influence.

“3. Whereas the sins of covetousness have been often reprov'd in your lordships, and ye have confess'd and engaged to abandon them, we conceive the Lord has justly been provok'd to smite the land for your continuance in them; for after all you have profess'd and promised before God and men, yet who can be ignorant that your lordships have in many instances employ'd your offices more for your personal aggrandizement than for the public good? Where is the denial of yourselves and your own interests, you promised to the Lord? Hath not your little finger been heavier than the lines of that worthy ruler who would not eat the bread of the governor, that he might ease the people's burden? How few are there amongst you will empty yourselves for the good of the cause!

“For remedy whereof we beseech as many as have taken advantage of the public and of the poor of the land, and, by levies, king's revenues, fines, borrowed money, and otherwise, have appropriated unto yourselves what belonged to the public, that you would clean your hands of such dishonest gain, at which the Lord will smite his hands, and which will be a moth to consume your houses. Let the extortioner and the oppressor oppress no more; and let it be regarded as your lordships' duty impartially to bring all men to account for the vast sums that have been misapplied, and let known oppressors be brought to condign punishment.

“4. After all our engagements (these were here enumerated) to prefer the glory of God and the public good to our own personal interests, and the counsel of God's word to that of flesh and blood, it is most manifest that the Lord is greatly displeased with the carnal policy which pervades your conduct in opposing the work of God till you can carry your own ends and designs along with it. We beseech

your lordships to institute an impartial inquiry into your conduct, and endeavour to discover what 'carnal wisdom and policy' have marked your whole conduct in bringing home the king, and your whole management of public affairs, especially your appointments to public offices.

"5. We cannot forget how some of you, in a day of adversity, vowed to the Lord that you would employ none in public offices but such as are well affected to the reformed religion, and that you would never separate yourselves from such; yet for all that, some among you have watched over the most distinguished of the servants of God with a jealous eye, have stood aloof from them, and represented them as suspicious persons. For such things the Lord is angry with us, and is likely to be so, until your lordships shew more respect to religion."

In conclusion, the remonstrants acknowledged themselves to have been in many ways implicated in public evils; and they resolved, that as they had endeavoured to humble themselves before God for their own sins and the sins of the land, they would again address themselves to the same duties, and "be more real and sincere in pursuing all the ends of the covenant."

They then profess, as in the sight of God, to entertain a becoming respect for the public judicatories, and that they had no intention to imitate the sectarian party, by subverting the government of the kingdom, as they were calumniously represented by some of their enemies. But, from a sense of duty to God, and a desire to please him and promote the good of the kingdom at all hazards, they had offered this remonstrance to their lordships. "We shall freely tell your lordships whence this hath proceeded, we being persuaded, in our consciences, of the unrighteous dealing of those who have invaded and wasted our land, and trodden down the precious ordinances of Jesus Christ, and shed the blood of his saints; and the necessity of the lamenting people of God calleth us to oppose the

enemy with all our might; being also convinced of our own insufficiency for attempting any thing unless we be mightily helped, assisted, and countenanced by the Lord. But, above all things, being afraid of sin and wrath, lest that should meet with us now when we are resolved, according to our capacity, and as God shall give us opportunity, in his strength to venture our lives against the enemy; and not knowing whether some of us, or any of us, shall see your lordships in the face, or hereafter have occasion to speak for the discharge of our consciences, we have therefore, and for our own exoneration, thought it necessary to leave this testimony of our sincere detestation of these sins, and of our desire to be found free from them, if the Lord shall suffer any of us to perish in our duty, and to lay these things at your door, as in the presence of the Lord, who can only make you and us repent and reform our ways.

“Declaring to your lordships, that we shall desire you unfeignedly to mourn for these sins, and that there are engagements on our hearts before God, if he shall lengthen our days, and take pleasure in us, to make us any instruments in his work, and for his people’s good and safety, that we shall, to the utmost of our power, endeavour to get these evils reformed according to our places and callings.”

The above remonstrance could not fail to create a deep sensation, as will appear, whether we consider the nature of the charges which it contained, or the number and influence of those from whom it emanated, and the rank and responsibilities of the men to whom it was addressed. It is to be regarded as the manifesto not of an ecclesiastical judicatory, but of a formidable military force, headed by able officers, and under the influence of a number of ministers, whose personal piety and ardent attachment to the best interests of the church and of the kingdom, were above all suspicion. The document prefers very serious charges against those entrusted with a cause

upon which the country professed to set the highest value. The commissioners appointed to treat with his majesty, and a number in the committee of estates, are charged with acting a part at once dishonourable to God, and treacherous to man, in surrendering the reins of government to the king, whose general conduct betrayed a determination to subvert the constitution, and to put an extinguisher upon the cause of public liberty whenever his power could execute his purposes; and they are accused of the mismanagement of the public funds, a charge which pannelled them at the bar of their country, and which was fitted to sting them more keenly than anything else. The majority of writers have evinced as little difficulty in deciding on the merits of the document, as there is reason to think, the king and his most favoured accomplices would have felt in disposing of its authors, had their army been sufficiently powerful. It is commonly branded as intemperate, daring, seditious. But those who contemplate the subject with a candid and discriminating eye, will see that it is consistent neither with facts, nor with charity, to dismiss the subject in such a summary and sweeping manner. From what has been stated respecting the treaty with the king, and the manner in which some of the commissioners acted in order to hasten its conclusion, it is too evident that the remonstrance contains, in general, a correct statement of the case; and the same thing must be admitted in reference to its complaint of the leniency shewn to malignants, and of a disposition to endanger the best interests of the country by promoting men of bad principles to stations of power and public influence. It is notorious, too, that the aristocracy of Scotland, from the reformation downwards, did degrade their order by grasping avarice; nor did the committee of estates vindicate themselves on this head, from the charges contained in the westland remonstrance. Its statements are strong, and should in various instances have been qualified; they are the

utterances of strong feeling ; but it would not be easy, we are persuaded, to fasten upon any one of them a charge of falsehood.

The manner and season of the remonstrance, are much less susceptible of vindication than its matter. The subject was of a kind demanding the most serious deliberation of an ecclesiastical court, and even of the highest judicatory. But it was got up by men at the head of an army, and in the attitude of intimidation ; and the fact of ministers being among them, was rather an aggravation of the disorder, so far as these functionaries were concerned. And although they did endeavour to obtain the sanction of some subordinate ecclesiastical courts, by whom their request was denied,—although the present had been the proper season for offering a remonstrance, which is very doubtful, they were not warranted to proceed by themselves, until the Assembly had refused to take any part in the preparation of a remonstrance, and in the presentation of it in name of the church. The proceeding of the remonstrants, if justifiable at all, could only be so as a last resort, to be had recourse to after every other way of testifying against public evils had been blocked up. It was certainly a flagrant breach of order, for a motley meeting of ministers, military officers, and gentlemen, as if there had been no courts invested with authority for the management of such business, to prepare and to put forth a remonstrance containing the most serious charges against the public authorities, and prescribing those exercises of repentance and reformation in which they were called to engage. Such conduct was injudicious, irreconcilable with the duty they owed to their brethren, and with the prudence demanded by the present emergency. There were many ministers in the church, whose piety and attachment to principle were unquestionable, and whose right to be consulted in a matter of such moment ought to have been more respected. And the men

to whom it was addressed, being placed in high offices, and entitled to public respect, such an attack and exposure was fitted to degrade them in the eyes of the country, and to paralyze them in their present extremity. Besides, if the state of the kingdom be considered, it will appear that the remonstrants were, by the stringency of their measures, in great danger of destroying the very cause they were most anxious to support. It was owing, in a considerable degree, to such circumstances, that the remonstrance failed in producing any of those salutary effects which the most of its promoters intended.

When the matter came before the committee of estates, it was resolved to hold a conference with some ministers, for the purpose of making preparations in order to its settlement. In their different meetings they were much divided, and, declaring their sentiments in keen and protracted debate, they made very little progress. Their report being at length given in, the committee of estates entered upon its discussion with all that warmth which the bearing of the remonstrance upon their character and the public conduct of individuals was calculated to excite. Argyll, Balcarras, Lothian, and the king's advocate, inveighed against the paper, as subversive of civil and ecclesiastical government; but Warriston and Humble endeavoured to defend and to palliate it as far as they could, and thus to prevent such an issue as their opponents desired. The committee of estates had been very tardy in their general movements against malignants, but they were abundantly zealous in the present case. For the purification of the house, the members were all called to declare upon honour that they had in no way assisted either in the contrivance or in the conclusion of the remonstrance; and all disclaimed it, Warriston acknowledging that, although he had seen it, he neither contrived it, nor voted for it. After much angry discussion, it was agreed to appoint Argyll, Lothian, the lord advocate, Humble,

Sir John Smith, and James Sword, a committee to draw up the heads of an act condemnatory of the remonstrance. The committee, having prepared an overture, presented it to the states, and, after some altercation, it was agreed to and published. Acknowledging it right that "all faults and miscarriages of any, as well in their personal carriage as in the discharge of their public trust, may be discovered, redressed, and punished," they found it necessary to testify their disapprobation of the said remonstrance, but, disposed to be as lenient as possible, they had resolved in general to declare as follows:—"They find the said paper as it relates to the parliament and civil judicatories, to be scandalous and injurious to his majesty's person, and prejudicial to his authority; and, as it relates to religion and church judicatories, they are to desire the church to give their sense thereon; and that, in regard to the effects it hath already produced, and those that are likely to follow therefrom, if not prevented, it holds forth the seed of division, of dangerous consequence; and that it is dishonourable to the kingdom, in so far as it tends to a breach of the treaty with his majesty at Breda, approved in parliament and General Assembly; that it also strengthens the hands of the enemy, giving him occasion to justify his unjust invasion, and the bloodshed and oppression committed by him in this kingdom, and weakens the hands of the many honest men; and likewise that the said paper holds forth, in the close, a bond of very dangerous tendency. And albeit the said paper has been wickedly and subtilly contrived by some, yet divers honest, faithful, and religious gentlemen, officers, ministers, and others, of approved fidelity and integrity in the cause, of whom they do not harbour the least thought to their prejudice, have been ensnared. Therefore, the king's majesty and committee of estates do hereby declare the said persons free from any imputation upon their names, or censure upon their persons or estates;

excepting herefrom, all such as shall adhere to the said remonstrance, by their persisting in prosecuting of what is therein contrary to the laws of the kingdom."

It was Mr Patrick Gillespie and a few churchmen who had acted a leading part in originating and forwarding the remonstrance; and, aware of this, the committee of estates, with the design of getting them tried by a competent tribunal, called upon the commission of the General Assembly to give their opinion of the paper. The terms in which Baillie and those ministers who had not abandoned the hope of converting the king to their views, speak of the remonstrance, is in unison with the epithets by which Argyll and its bitterest opponents had characterised it in parliament.¹ But the truth of its main statements being very palpable, the most of the ministers were convinced of it; and although some of the more influential members seemed very indignant at what had been done, and expressed their displeasure in the strongest terms, the commission gave its "sense" of the paper in very soft and rather equivocal language. "The commission, having taken into their consideration the said remonstrance, doth find and acknowledge therein to be maintained many sad truths in relation to the king, his family, and the public judicatories, which also we are resolved to hold out and press upon them in a right and orderly way, together with such other sins as we find, by impartial inquiry and the help of God's Spirit upon our endeavours therein, that they may take with them and be humbled before the Lord in the sense thereof. We do find it our duty to shew that in respect there seems to be intrenching therein on some conclusions and determinations of the General Assembly; and in respect of inferences and applications made therein, in relation to the king's interest, and the exercises of his power and government; and in regard of the

¹ Baillie's Letters, ii. 354.

engagements, which in the close thereof they declare to be upon their hearts before God, in relation to evidences for remedying the things contained in it, we are dissatisfied therewith, and that we think it apt to breed division in the kirk and kingdom, as we do find already in part by experience, and that the enemy hath taken advantage thereat, and because of the tender respect and love we owe and must cordially carry to the gentry, officers, and brethren in the ministry, who have concurred in the said remonstrance, as being religious and godly men, and such as have always given proof of their integrity, faithfulness, and constancy in the cause of God, and for entertainment of love, unity, and conjunction amongst the people of God, in acting according to their calling and station against the public enemy; the breach of all which Satan at this time is eagerly driving at, and the enemy is greedily desiring and expecting, we do resolve to forbear a more particular examination of the said remonstrance, expecting that at the next diet of this commission, these worthy gentlemen, officers, and brethren, will give such a declaration and explanation of their intentions and meaning as may satisfy both kirk and state without any farther inquiry or debate thereupon."

The deliverances of the civil and ecclesiastical courts respecting the westland remonstrance brought the matter to some temporary settlement, but they were at the same time unsatisfactory to all parties. The complainers regarded the judgment of both courts, in point of severity, far below the demerits of the paper; while the defenders, and especially those that signed the remonstrance, considered themselves persecuted for their fidelity in reproofing sin, and in pleading the cause of truth. Both parties remained not merely unconvinced of their errors, but became more embittered in their hostility than before, and they found too favourable opportunities for the display of their dispositions.

While the leaders of the westland army were employed in exhibiting the gravest charges against the public authorities of the kingdom, Cromwell was allowed, without resistance, to march his forces to the west, and to take possession of Glasgow. He affected to lament the wretched state to which the country was reduced, and the conduct of his soldiers is acknowledged by their enemies to have been remarkable for peacefulness and general propriety. They spent a Sabbath in Glasgow, where Cromwell waited upon the ministrations of Mr Zachary Boyd; and although this courageous presbyterian gave him a faithful lecture on his breach of covenant, his iniquitous invasion, and wild sectarianism, he maintained his composure to the last. Next morning Mr Boyd was invited by the general to a disputation, and, if we believe their own partizans, Cromwell and his officers were too many for him. Although shunned by the magistrates, and by most of the clergy, the presence of Cromwell was fitted to exert a conciliatory effect upon the people of Glasgow, and the westland army offered no resistance to his march after he left the city.

The parliament met at Perth on the 26th November, and the lord chancellor Loudon, being elected president, represented, in a speech of some length, the present condition of the kingdom as it respected both church and state, with the circumstances of his majesty; and he inveighed against the English invaders as "a company of wicked, and perfidious, yea treacherous blasphemers." He first shewed the duties incumbent upon his majesty; then pointed out what was expected from each member of parliament; and what the whole house owed to the kingdom of Scotland, their native country. This being the first parliament the king had attended, he pronounced his maiden speech in the following terms: "My lords and gentlemen, it hath pleased Him who ruleth the nations, and in whose hands are the hearts of men, by a very singular providence, to bring me through a

great many difficulties into this my ancient kingdom, and to this place, where I may have your advice in the great matters that concern the glory of God, and the establishment of my throne, and that relate to the general good and common happiness of these three covenanted kingdoms, over which the Lord hath set me; and truly I cannot express the height of that joy wherewith He hath filled my soul from this signal experiment of his kindness, nor how strong and fervent desires He hath created in me to evidence my thankfulness by standing to reign for Him, with an humble and just subordination to Him. That which increaseth my hope and confidence that He will yet continue to deal graciously with me is, that He hath moved me to enter into covenant with his people—a favour no other king can claim—and that He has inclined me to a resolution, by his assistance, to live and die with my people in defence of it. This is my resolution, I profess it before God and you, and in testimony hereof I desire to renew it in your presence; and if it please God to lengthen my days, I hope my actions shall demonstrate it. But I shall leave the enlargement of this and what farther I could say to my lord chancellor, whom I have commanded to speak to you at greater length, and likewise to inform you of my sense not only of the folly but the sinfulness of my going from this place, and the reasons of it.” The chancellor then addressed the house in his majesty’s name, declaring, as formerly to the committee of estates, the causes of his “start” from Perth, and expressing his deep sorrow on account of it.

In consequence of the dangers to which they were exposed from the presence of a formidable English army, it was deemed by the parliament to be indispensably necessary for the public safety that some healing measure should be employed in order to combine the forces of the country, and bring to the field the most powerful army the nation could possibly afford. For this purpose they called upon the commission of

the General Assembly to give their advice respecting what might, in present circumstances, be most conducive to the good of religion and the peace and unity of the kingdom. They were also requested to appoint some of their number to meet with commissioners from parliament to make arrangements for the coronation ; and in prospect of that important matter, the church was petitioned for the appointment of a day of fasting, to implore the blessing of heaven upon "the action." And feeling the sting of what had been stated in the westland remonstrance, and what the church had in courts and in pulpits frequently declared respecting the selfishness and avarice of those intrusted with the public funds, and other property, the parliament desired the commission to shew what was meant by "self-seeking avarice and greed," so much complained of by the church ; the commission was also requested to state what were the "crooked ways" used in the treaty with the king, and by whom they were used. These last inquiries were certainly little calculated to promote that unity of which they professed to be so desirous. They were an indirect avowal of their innocence of such evils on the part of parliament, and any attempt that the church could make to substantiate her charges could only widen the breach, and render the circumstances of both parties the more embarrassing.

The commission of the General Assembly entered deliberately on the consideration of the subjects submitted to them by the state, and, in a few days, appointed a committee to present a remonstrance to the king and parliament against various grievances. This paper was framed in milder terms, and its tone was much less offensive than that of the westland army. It contained an admonition to the nobility on various parts of their past conduct, particularly their employment of malignants, contrary to the public engagements of church and state ; and it condemned the act of indemnity passed in favour of those concerned

in the northern insurrection, who ought to have been prosecuted as rebels. It petitioned for the removal of all malignants from the court; that the king's house be thoroughly reformed without delay; and that "covetousness, avarice, and pride, self-seeking compliance with enemies be confessed and forsaken."¹ In reality, the paper contained the essence of the charges which had formerly proved so offensive; yet it was well received, and the lord chancellor was requested to return the commissioners the thanks of the house,—to desire them to condescend upon persons and faults; he was commanded to call them to probe evils to the bottom; to thank them for their "good correspondence in so needful a time;" and to promise that the house would consider the duties God required, and the country expected at their hands; and that the king and parliament would return the commission a written answer in due time. The design of parliament in making this humble and promising reply to the remonstrance of the commission, was evidently to remove the scruples entertained by many in reference to the propriety of offering an immediate resistance to the English, and to unite all parties for the purpose of repelling the invaders.

Meanwhile, messengers were dispatched to Strachan and the westland army, in order to persuade them to unite with the other forces of the kingdom; and it was not till their utmost endeavours had failed to induce the leaders of that army to comply, that colonel Montgomery was ordered to march with a force to the west, to unite with the army and take its chief command. Such a movement was very offensive to Strachan and others who were more reluctant to fight under the banners of the king, in present circumstances, than to follow the English general, and who insisted for a treaty with the latter before proceeding to farther hostilities. But the approach of Mont.

¹ Balfour's Historical Works, iv. 189.

gomery deranged their plans, and immediately drove them to extremities. Strachan resigned his commission, and, following his own inclinations, joined the enemy; and Ker, who succeeded to the chief command of the forces, in order to anticipate Montgomery, and by a sudden stroke suppress all suspicions of his loyalty, made an assault at Hamilton upon a powerful body of English under Lambert. At first, the Scots seemed to carry all before them, and, clearing the town, killed a number of the enemy; but the main body of the English being strongly posted behind a ditch, Ker did not venture to assail them, and began to retreat; this movement unfortunately led his men in the rear to believe that he had been repulsed, so that they turned their backs in confusion, and were pursued by the enemy as far as Paisley and Kilmarnock. A number of them were either killed or wounded, and Ker himself was also wounded and taken prisoner. Such was the fate of the westland army, whose services had a little before been deemed of very great importance to the safety of the kingdom. So complete was their discomfiture, that no considerable attempt was made to rally them; and in this manner was Montgomery saved the trouble of compelling them to submit to his command.¹ The efforts of Cromwell to make himself master of the country, were now in different quarters accompanied with all the success his ambition could desire. He was already possessed of the most fertile districts of the kingdom, and the most important fortresses were opening their gates to him. By the solicitations of some who had deserted to the English, the governor of Edinburgh castle surrendered, in opposition to the remonstrances of the ministers and of others, who had committed themselves to his protection. The castles of Roslin, Tantallon, Hume, and some other places, were successively reduced, and, during the

¹ Baillie's Letters, vol. ii., 264.

winter, the whole country within the Forth and Clyde was subdued by Cromwell.¹

But the king and parliament were not, in consequence of recent misfortunes, disposed to abandon their enterprises for the public defence. The defeat at Hamilton was not regarded by the royal party as a great misfortune, but was improved as an irresistible argument for additional reinforcements to the army; and his majesty dexterously used it for the purpose of insisting on the speedy admission of those into the public service, who, on account of malignancy, had been excluded by acts of parliament. For this purpose, having obtained the concurrence of the estates of parliament, the king sent a letter to the moderator of the General Assembly, requesting him to call an extraordinary meeting of the commission at Perth, on the following week, to give their advice respecting the persons to be admitted into the army, and to be excluded from it in the present emergency; he was also desired to invite all the ministers of the neighbouring synods and presbyteries to be present, and to hold the meeting although there might not be sufficient time for some of them to attend. The question now put to the church was tantamount to an application for her consent to the repeal of the act that had been passed for reforming the militia, and its design was to pave the way for the admission of malignants into the army. After the remonstrances which the church had very lately made against the employment of such men, the request for advice upon the subject, was all but a direct insult to her honour. But the subtlety of the old Serpent could not have propounded a question more calculated to embarrass the church, and to create animosity, division, and the other bitter fruits which are conducive to his malicious purposes.

Mr Robert Douglas, aware of the difficulties and

¹ Laing's Hist. of Scotland. vol. iii., 466.

dangers to which they would be exposed, refused to call a *pro-re-nata* meeting of the commission, alleging it to be unnecessary, as the next ordinary meeting would be held in a few days, when the attendance would be fuller, and the members better prepared for giving judgment in a matter of so great importance. The moderator's reply proved very offensive to those in parliament who were impatient for the execution of their purposes; and they immediately called upon the house to return a "sharp letter," intimating that if he would not call a meeting on the very day formerly specified, the parliament would proceed without their advice; and it would appear to the world, that the church had refused assistance for the defence of the country, in a time of urgent necessity. In the mean time the king and his partizans in parliament took the matter so far under their own management, as to order intimation to be made to a number of ministers in the neighbourhood, chiefly those who were most friendly to their views, to attend the meeting of the commission at Perth on Thursday next, and warning them in the same terms as were addressed to the moderator, that if they failed to attend, the parliament must do "that which God, their country, and every good man, requires at their hand." The design of the king and his principal supporters in being so peremptory for a very early meeting of the commission was, if possible, to prevent many from attending who, as they well knew, would be most decided in opposing their measures, and to get forward a few whose compliance might be obtained, so far as was necessary for present purposes. With some difficulty, a quorum was collected, the most of them being from Fife; and to such a packed meeting was a question submitted in the following shape—"What persons are to be admitted to rise in arms, and to join with the forces of the kingdom, and in what capacity, for the defence thereof against the armies of the sectaries, who, contrary to the Solemn League and Covenant and treaties,

have most unjustly invaded, and are destroying the kingdom?"

The question was very artfully prepared, and it was not very easy to repel the arguments employed for the admission of those who had been excluded, for the part they had acted in struggling for the promotion of their prince. It was maintained that the circumstances of the case were now completely changed; the king had become a covenanter himself, and they had no reason to fear that the royalists would not readily follow his example; there was a great difference betwixt quarrels among themselves concerning questions of church polity and an invasion by an adversary, who, after subverting the throne and desecrating the altar in his own country, had come over to subject Scotland to similar injuries and indignities; and their present defence demanded the merging of all differences in the depths of their zeal for national existence, the defence of their prince, and especially for the safety of their religion, according to the covenants. It was contended that, instead of refusing the services of able, experienced, and influential men, every one should encourage his neighbour to rush to the royal standard, and approve their patriotism and their piety in the present crisis. Such were the strains in which it had become common to oppose the exclusive laws then in operation. It was generally agreed that common soldiers, after satisfaction given to the church, might be admitted; but officers, noblemen, and gentlemen were not to be received "without an eminent degree of evident repentance." A considerable party in the church, including Robert Douglas and Robert Baillie, had for some time regarded the exclusive laws as too stringent for a time when the country was invaded by strangers.¹ On the other hand, Rutherford and James Guthrie wrote letters to the

¹ Baillie's Letters, vol. ii., 365.

commission, avowing their determination, at all hazards, to maintain the existing laws against malignants. Had the ministers connected with the westland army been all present, it would have been scarcely possible to obtain any concessions from the commission. But after deliberating upon the subject at some length, it was unanimously agreed to return the following answer to the parliament: "In this case of so great and evident necessity, we cannot be against the raising of all fencible persons in the land, and permitting them to fight against this enemy for defence of the kingdom, except such as are excommunicated, forfeited, notoriously profane or flagitious, or such as have been from the beginning, or continue still, and are at this time, obstinate and professed enemies and opposers of the covenant and cause of God; and for the capacity of acting that the estates of parliament ought to have, as we hope they will have, special care that in this so general a concurrence of all the people of the kingdom, none may be put in such trust and power as may be prejudicial to the cause of God, and that such officers as are of known integrity and affection to the cause, and particularly such as have suffered in our former armies, may be taken special notice of."

A more favourable answer was not expected, or even wished, by the leaders in parliament; and although Baillie, and the more accommodating ministers, at first rejoiced at the unanimity with which it was carried, they soon found too good cause to repent of what they had done. The despotic manner in which the commission was called, and the terms of defiance and intimidation employed, were fitted to arouse the suspicions of the church, and to summon her faithful watchmen to a vigilant and vigorous defence of the cause entrusted to their guardianship; and had those who met inherited the fortitude and the decision of many that had gone before them, they would either have expressed themselves in more specific terms, or

they would have insisted for more time and assistance of brethren, for the settlement of such a public and important question. But by a false step they now exposed to the utmost peril the whole work of the Second Reformation. The same party that had formerly succeeded in almost extinguishing the religion and liberties of the kingdom, were, in consequence of what was now done, speedily invested with a power sufficient to enable them to inflict similar injuries; and, but for their defeat by Cromwell, they would have immediately opened scenes similar to those which commenced after the restoration. The truth of these remarks is clearly illustrated by the progress of events.

The estates now proceeded to pass an act of levy, ordering all the fencible men in the country, from sixteen to sixty, to enter into the public service; and the membership of the church being a passport to office, the most of those who had been excommunicated on account of malignancy, offered themselves as candidates for admission; and thus, by a feigned repentance, and a farcical profession of attachment to the covenants, they easily obtained freedom from censure, and from every obstacle to their possession of their former situations in the army. In a few days the king and his favourites removed the friends of the reformation from the principal management of public affairs, and proceeded to conduct them in a manner more congenial to their own ideas. "My joy," says Baillie, "for this (the unity of the commission) was soon tempered when I saw the consequence, the loathing of sundry good people to see numbers of grievous blood-shedders ready to come in, and so many malignant noblemen as were not likely to lay down their arms till they were put into some places of trust, and restored to their vote in parliament."¹ When the appointment of officers came to be discussed, the consequences of

¹ Baillie's Letters, ut supra.

the concessions made by the commission became manifest. The king and his coadjutors employed all their influence for the appointment of their own party, and obtained commissions to many who had followed Montrose, and who had, within a twelve-month, been twice declared rebels for their insurrection in the north. Against these proceedings the lord chancellor strongly protested, and all who cared for the safety of the public liberties, being much displeased, began to entertain strong apprehensions. But the most formidable opposition was made by those of the ministers who had not been present at the commission. Prevented from attending by the want of time or necessary information, many of them did not know what was in progress until the concessions above mentioned had been actually made ; but after receiving information of what was done, they lost no opportunity of loudly condemning the measure, and of warning the country of the certain consequences.

As a necessary preparation for the commencement of hostilities, it was deemed expedient to hasten the coronation ; and, that it might exhibit an aspect of the greater solemnity, two days were appointed, one for fasting for the “great contempt of the gospel, and another for the sins of the king and his father’s house.” It is common to sneer at this appointment as “rigid” and unseasonable ; but it is conformable at once to the spirit of scripture and to the practice of the reformed church of Scotland ; and they shew little capacity for forming any just estimate of the piety of this period, who adopt as the standard of their decisions the courtly and complying maxims that have uniformly marked the measures of our moderate clergy. The prospect of the coronation was only pleasing to the ministers in proportion to the confidence they had in the king’s sincerity, and to the hopes they entertained of the constancy of his attachment to the cause of presbytery. None of

them were satisfied with what they had as yet seen, but a number had not despaired of making him a convert to their views, while others, regarding him with great suspicion, were opposed to the coronation, as they had been opposed to his admission into the kingdom.

Arrangements having been made on a scale of considerable magnificence, Charles was crowned at Scone on the 1st of January, 1651. In the morning the king proceeded from his chambers in princely attire, and was conducted by the constable on his right hand, and the marshal on his left, to the chamber of presence, and placed by the chamberlain in a chair of state, surmounted with a splendid canopy. After the nobles, with the commissioners of burghs, were introduced to his majesty, the lord chancellor thus addressed him: "Sir, your good subjects desire that you may be crowned as the righteous and lawful heir of this kingdom; that you would maintain religion as it is presently professed and established, conform to the national covenant, and according to your declaration at Dunfermline in August last; also that you would be graciously pleased to receive them under your highness's protection, to govern them by the laws of the kingdom, and to defend their rights and liberties by your royal power; offering themselves, in the most humble manner, to your majesty, with their vows to bestow land, and life, and what else is in their power, for the maintenance of religion, for the safety of your majesty's sacred person, and maintenance of your crown, which they entreat your majesty to accept, and pray Almighty God that for many years you may happily enjoy the same." To which his majesty replied, "I do esteem the affections of my people more than the crown of many kingdoms, and shall be ready, by God's assistance, to bestow my life in their defence, wishing to live no longer than I may see religion and this kingdom flourish in all happiness."

This commencement of the ceremony being over, his majesty then proceeded to the church. The earl of Eglinton had the honour of carrying the spurs before the king; the earl of Rothes the sword; the sceptre was borne by the earls of Crawford and Lindsay, and the crown by the marquis of Argyle. The king was supported by the great constable on his right and the great marshal on his left, under a canopy of crimson velvet, supported by six earls' sons, and his train borne by four lords. The church was fitly prepared for the occasion; opposite the pulpit was a chair for the king, and around it benches for the members of parliament and the rest of the auditory during sermon. In the middle of the house there was a stage erected for the throne, twenty-four feet square, and elevated about six feet above the level of the floor. The sermon was preached by Mr Douglas, from the following text, "And he brought forth the king's son, and put the crown upon him, and gave him the testimony; and they made him king, and anointed him; and they clapped their hands and said, God save the king. And Jehoiada made a covenant between the king and the people that they should be the Lord's people; between the king also and the people."¹ The sermon is published, and it affords a very satisfactory proof of the superior talents and sound principles of Douglas. Its prominent characteristics are the lucid exposition of truth, combined with its judicious, prudent, and faithful application to the primary occasion of its delivery. The fundamental principles of civil liberty are clearly exhibited, and upon these the reciprocal duties of sovereign and subjects are cogently inculcated. After representing the encouragement of religion and the repression of iniquity as objects of general concern, he says, "that a king, entering into covenant with God, should do as the kings of old did when

¹ 2 Kings xi. 12-17.

they entered into covenant,—they and their people went on in the work of reformation.”—“And all the people of the land went into the house of Baal and brake it down; and godly Josiah, when he entered into covenant, made a thorough reformation. There is a fourfold reformation in Scripture and contained in the League and Covenant,—a personal reformation; a family reformation; a reformation of judicatories; and a reformation of the whole land. A king should reform his own life that he may be a pattern to others; and to this he is tied by the covenant. The godly reformers of Judah were pious and religious men. We know that dissembling kings have been punished of God; and let our king know that no king but a religious king can please God. David is highly commended for godliness; Hezekiah a man eminent for piety; Josiah a young king commended for the tenderness of his heart, when he heard the law of the Lord read; he was troubled before the Lord, when he heard the judgments threatened against his father's house and people. It is earnestly wished that our king's heart may be tender and truly humbled before the Lord, for the sins of his father's house and of the land; and for the many evils that are upon that family and upon the kingdom.” Having discussed, with equal plainness and sincerity, the other branches, he proceeds to consider the covenant between the king and the people. “It is clear from this covenant that a king hath not absolute power to do what he pleaseth, he is tied to the conditions by virtue of a covenant. It is clear from this covenant that a people are bound to obey a king in the Lord; that the king's power is not absolute, as flattering courtiers apprehend; it is subject to a threefold limitation. 1. In respect of subordination. There is a power above him, even God's power, whom he is bound to obey, and to whom he must give an account of his administration. Kings not only have their crowns from God, but must reign according to his

will. He is called the *minister of God*; he is God's servant. 2. In regard of laws; a king is sworn at his coronation to rule according to the standing received laws of the kingdom. The laws he is sworn to, limit him that he cannot do against them without a sinful breach of this covenant between the king and the people. 3. In regard of government; the total government is not upon the king. He hath counsellors, a parliament, or estates in the land, who share in the burden of government. No king should have the sole government; it was never the mind of those who received a king to rule them, to lay all government upon him to do what he pleaseth without control."

On the delicate point of a king abusing his power, the preacher said, "A king abusing his power to the overthrow of religion, laws, and liberties, which are the very fundamentals of this contract and covenant, may be controlled and opposed; and if he set himself to overthrow all by arms, then they who have power as the estates of the land may and ought to resist by arms; because he doth, by that opposition, break the very bonds, and overthrow all the essentials of this contract and covenant. This may serve to justify the proceedings of this kingdom against the late king, who in a hostile way set himself to overthrow *religion, parliament, laws, and liberties*." The duties of the subject are inculcated with equal fidelity, and the doctrine was applied for the purpose of prompting all to energy in the public defence. While much of the doctrine and application must have been very grating to the royal ear, there is reason to think that Douglas was respected by his majesty for his sincerity and honesty in the performance of his present duty.

Sermon being concluded, the national covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant were distinctly read, the minister then prayed for "grace to perform the contents of the covenant," and administered the oath to the king, who, kneeling and lifting up his

right hand, swore, "I, Charles, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, do assure and declare by my solemn oath, in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of hearts, my allowance and approbation of the national covenant, and of the Solemn League and Covenant above written, and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling; and that I, for myself and successors, shall consent and agree to all acts of parliament enjoining the same, and establishing presbyterial government as approved by the General Assemblies of this kirk and parliament of this kingdom, and that I shall give my royal assent to acts and ordinances of parliament, passed or to be passed, enjoining the same in my other dominions; and that I shall observe these in my own practice and family, and shall never make any opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof." He then subscribed the covenants and his oath, in a roll of parchment, as the charter by which he held his crown, and had obtained a title to the people's allegiance. The king next ascended the platform, and took possession of his throne. The lord high chancellor and earl marshal also ascended, and proceeding to the different sides of the stage, the Lord Lyon king-at-arms proclaimed before the people, "Sirs, I do present you the king Charles, the rightful and undoubted heir of the crown and dignity of this realm. This day is by the parliament of this kingdom appointed for his coronation. Are you willing to have him for your king, and to become subject to his commandments?" As often as the words of the proclamation were pronounced, the people responded, "God save king Charles the Second."

His majesty then descended and resumed his former seat; and being asked if he was willing to take the oath appointed by parliament to be taken at the coronation, he answered, "Most willing." The oath was then read by the Lord Lyon. It binds the king

in the strongest terms to defend the ecclesiastical constitution as settled by law; and ordains that all princes and magistrates, before admission to public offices, shall give similar pledges for their support of the same constitution. The reading of the oath being finished, the minister tendered it to the king, who, kneeling, and holding up his right hand, swore, "By the eternal and almighty God who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall observe and keep all that is contained in this oath."

He was then arrayed in his royal robes, and, after a number of ceremonies, a solemn prayer was offered to God, "That the Lord would purge the crown from the sins and transgressions of them that did reign before him; that it might be a pure crown; that God would settle it upon the king's head; and since men that set it on were not able to settle it, that the Lord would put it on and preserve it." The crown was then placed upon the king's head by the marquis of Argyll. Immediately after the coronation, the nobility were first called upon to come forward and swear allegiance to his majesty; and after each of them had so sworn, the whole of them joining with uplifted hands, engaged in the most solemn and explicit terms to be loyal subjects, and faithful to the crown. The oath was then administered to the people, who held up their right hands while the Lyon proclaimed, "By the eternal and almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, we become your liegemen, and truth and faith shall bear unto you, and live and die with you, against all manner of folk whatever, in your service, according to the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant." When all had sworn, the nobles put on their coronets, and the earl of Crawford and Lindsay delivered the sceptre to his majesty with this charge, "Sir, receive this sceptre, the sign of royal power in the kingdom, that you may govern yourself right, and defend all Christian people committed to your care by God, punishing the wicked

and protecting the just." The king then ascended the stage, attended by the officers of state and nobility, and the marquis of Argyll installed him into the royal throne, and addressed him thus: "Stand and hold fast from henceforth the place whereof you are the lawful and right heir, by a long and lineal succession of your fathers, which is now delivered unto you by Almighty God." Mr Douglas then concluded the work of the day by seasonable and scriptural addresses, first to the king, and then to the whole assembly, exhorting them to fulfil the obligations they had that day contracted, and warning them of their danger of forgetting their vows.

We have been the more circumstantial in the preceding narrative of the coronation, because it affords a very striking exhibition of the prominent place which religion held in the public transactions of this period, as well as of the solemn pledges Charles then gave of his attachment to presbytery and the covenants, with the sacred engagements he made to support them. There was indeed enough of the mere pomp and pageantry commonly exhibited on such occasions; yet these were in a great measure thrown into the shade by the manifestation given of the intimate and important relation subsisting between the king and the people, and the solemn responsibilities attaching to it. The language employed in reference to Israel at Mount Sinai might, with much propriety, have been adopted at the conclusion of the coronation: "They have well spoken all that they have spoken." The solemnity of the whole scene was peculiarly striking, as is acknowledged by historians who have little respect for the covenants, or for the faithful presbyterians of this period. "Perhaps," says Dr Cook, "the history of the world does not afford a more striking example of that mutual compact subsisting between a monarch and his people. The coronation oath was indeed taken in common form, but additional stipulations were required, his

prerogative was precisely limited, and allegiance was promised only upon the supposition that the limitations should not be transgressed. It is impossible to conceive a more sacred obligation than that under which Charles now came. He solemnly pledged himself to maintain the presbyterian form of government of the church, and never to change that government; and if circumstances could cancel this oath, we must admit the melancholy conclusions, that no moral principles should influence the conduct of a sovereign, and that liberty is inconsistent with the existence of monarchy.”¹

The obligations, being of the most solemn kind, were equally necessary for the protection of the civil and religious liberties of the people. But what an appalling effect is produced on the mind, alive to invisible realities, by the consideration of the contrast that continued to subsist between the principles and the professions of the king. Presented, as we now are, with the whole history of the life of that man, no charity can warrant us to doubt that all his professions, and vows, and appeals to the Almighty God, were acted by him as an empty farce;—that while he swore by Him that liveth for ever and ever that he would support the covenanted reformation at all hazards, he regarded it with inveterate aversion, and that his real intentions were to embrace the first opportunity of exerting his royal prerogative for its overthrow. Who can conceive how far worms of the dust may presume against the Majesty of Heaven! Surely we need not wonder, after this, at any thing Charles did in opposing religion, and in persecuting its witnesses. Perhaps our venerable ancestors are on few points more vulnerable, than in this matter of administering so many solemn oaths to one whose whole conduct afforded so little evidence of sincerity in swearing them. If it be right in the

¹ Hist. of Reformation, vol. iii., 206.

office-bearers of the church to exclude from the sacraments of the New Testament the ignorant and the profane, it would not be easy to vindicate their conduct in giving countenance to what might, even then, have been justly considered as very flagrant and aggravated perjury. But it must be admitted that many of the ministers contemplated the matter with horror; and that the good men who took part in it, did so, clinging to a hope that Charles would never surely abandon a cause he had so solemnly espoused.

The proceedings of the leading parties in church and state had, for a considerable time, been very offensive to a number of ministers and others in the country. The presbyteries of Stirling and Aberdeen sent letters of remonstrance to the commission of the General Assembly; and some of the ministers warmly inveighed against various parts of public procedure from their pulpits. Such opposition was keenly felt by the most influential members of the commission, as an impeachment of their fidelity to the reformation cause; and from its tendency to discourage the people from entering with sufficient alacrity into the enterprise against the English, it soon awakened the displeasure of the king and the committee of estates. The civil and ecclesiastical courts, accordingly, concurred in testifying their displeasure against such as "disclaimed the king's interest," and as condemned the late public resolution for admitting those who had been excluded for malignancy into the army. Messrs James Guthrie and David Bennet, ministers of Stirling, had rendered themselves very offensive to the public authorities on account of the strong terms in which they had impugned the measures of government, and it being, on account of their proximity to the garrison, deemed unsafe to allow them to proceed unchecked, they were summoned to appear and answer for their conduct before the committee of estates at Perth. The king, who had left the town before their arrival, gave orders to detain them from going

home until his return. Guthrie and Bennet, regarding the interference of civil authority with their public administrations as an unwarrantable invasion of the ecclesiastical province, protested against it, and declined the jurisdiction of the estates as incompetent in their case. The force of circumstances restrained those, who had now the greatest weight in public affairs, from the execution of their displeasure upon the ministers of Stirling; and instead of putting them down by the arm of power, the estates, confiding in the good affection of the commission of the General Assembly, applied to that court for defence from the annoyance of its turbulent subjects. The commission feeling their own credit at stake, as well as that of the civil courts, prepared a paper containing their refutation of the charges advanced by their opponents, a vindication of their own conduct and of that of the state, accompanied with very strong expressions of their displeasure at the conduct of the above-mentioned individuals.

This paper, dated the 8th of March, and prepared with considerable ingenuity, could not fail to be pleasing to the king's party; and they who look merely at the surface of the subject may think it triumphant. It commences by admitting that ministers may warrantably protest that their appearance before civil courts, to answer for any charges connected with doctrine or ministerial duties, does not imply that ecclesiastical courts are not the proper judges of these matters. But it is maintained that the terms in which Guthrie and Bennet had protested, being of the most absolute kind, amount to a denial of the right of the magistrate to interfere with matters of doctrine in any circumstances, and are at variance with the doctrine of the reformed churches, respecting the duty of the civil magistrate to employ his influence for the support of truth, and for the suppression of error. And it is contended that the committee of estates had recognised the proper and primary

authority of ecclesiastical courts to take cognizance of the case ; but, in opposition to the judgment of the commission, and to all endeavours for the removal of their scruples, the said individuals had persisted in condemning measures adopted for the public defence, and still avowed their determination to continue in the same practice, and to follow the same divisive courses. Their principal objection, founded on the admission of malignants into the army, was repelled with indignation. "How could it be proved that the resolution of the commission involved a conjunction with the malignant party, when it expressly excluded all such as would not profess repentance for their former opposition to the work of reformation, and as would not subscribe the Covenant as a pledge of their attachment to it in future?" The commission, judging Guthrie and Bennet at once guilty of exhibiting the most groundless charges against their brethren, and of acting a part fitted to frustrate the measures of government for the defence of the country, decided that his majesty and the committee of estates might warrantably summon them to Perth and detain them for a time ; but while such was their judgment upon the general merits of the question, they left it to the civil courts to determine how far the committee of estates was justifiable in summoning them, until a fuller meeting ; nor did they venture to suggest what farther steps the civil courts ought to take in the matter ; they only expressed a hope that they would "deal with their brethren with all tenderness, in so far as will consist with the security of the place where they shall be, and the preservation of the public cause and kingdom."¹

It will afterwards appear how little the above deliverance was either satisfactory to the defenders, or consistent with the true state of affairs. In the mean time, the two ministers were rebuked by the

¹ Balfour's Historical Works, vol. iv., 284.

parliament and dismissed ; and the commission of the General Assembly was enjoined to watch over them, and prevent all danger to the public safety from their presence at Stirling.¹ The decided manifestations of displeasure, which not a few ministers and defenders of the reformation had shewn to the admission of malignants into the army, did not in any degree restrain his majesty from farther aggressions of a similar kind. In order to obtain the support of men whose sentiments were more congenial to his own than those of many in the committee of estates, we find him introducing the following query to the consideration of parliament, and transmitting it to the commission of the church:—"Whether or not it be sinful and unlawful, for the more effectual prosecution of the public resolutions, for the defence of the cause, king, and kingdom, to admit those persons to be members of the committee of estates, who are now debarred from public trust; they being such as have satisfied the kirk for the offences for which they were excluded, and are since admitted to enter into covenant with us?" The query evinced a most reckless audacity on the part of those with whom it originated, and the manner in which it was entertained by the commission manifests a deplorable lack of vigilance and fidelity on the part of the church. It is evident that the least countenance to the proposal implied in the query, would be improved with avidity as a warrant for the admission of as many of his majesty's favourites into the committee as would enable him to control every question that might come before them, and to carry any measure that might be pleasing to him, how subversive soever of the constitution and liberties of the kingdom. The answer of the commission is characterized with an indecision and acquiescence, utterly unworthy of watchmen on Zion's walls. They delay any complete answer to

¹ Balfour's Historical Works, vol. iv., 267.

the query until a more full meeting of the commission; still they desire the king and parliament to admit into their councils all but a few who had been the principal actors in opposition to the state.¹ The royalists obtained a still more important advantage by the appointment of a committee from their own party, to manage the affairs of the army. This measure was strenuously resisted in parliament by Argyll and all the advocates of liberty. They saw that it would enable the king and the supporters of arbitrary power to take the direction of public affairs into their own hands; and they now began to feel themselves in imminent danger of losing their influence and importance in the kingdom. From this measure, accordingly, thirteen members, including the chancellor, Argyll, and Lothian, dissented. The king, employing all his influence for its success, was sternly resisted by the chancellor and secretary, who charged him with the violation of his solemn engagements, and with inconstancy for preferring, in place of his best friends, who had introduced him to the kingdom and set the crown upon his head, the party which had the main share in procuring his father's death. But, in spite of all opposition, the appointment was carried, to the virtual exclusion of the reformers from all power in the government of the kingdom.

Another step was yet necessary in order to enable the royalists to attain the ascendancy which they ardently contemplated. The act of classes, by which many of their most accomplished agents were excluded from public offices, required to be repealed. Emboldened by their previous successes in the acquisition of power, the king and his coadjutors lost no time in preparing and forwarding a bill for the unqualified abolition of the obnoxious statute; and, for the sake of appearances, they again applied to the commission of the General Assembly for advice.

¹ Balfour, iv., 70-75.

The leading members of the commission were unquestionably well affected to the church; yet it is not easy, on this principle, to explain the facility with which they acquiesced in many of the king's proposals at this time. His preparations against the liberties of the church were no less formidable than the forces he had raised for the resistance of Cromwell; but while Douglas and Baillie, and many other excellent men, were all vigilance and zeal against the sectarians, they were so little alive to their dangers from malignants, that they co-operated with them in endeavouring to put down all who opposed the measures in progress. The commission had very lately published an "Exhortation and Warning to the ministers and professors of this kirk," in which they call all to repentance on account of sin, because of the judgments already inflicted, and of others still impending. The principal design of the document was to arouse the nation to a united and resolute resistance of the English. It warns, therefore, particularly against the counsels of such as would cool their ardour by creating suspicions respecting the warrantableness of the war; in the most solemn manner prohibits ministers from preaching or writing, and private members from speaking or acting, against the public preparations for the national defence; and it calls upon presbyteries to keep a vigilant eye upon all under their inspection, to proceed with the utmost impartiality against opponents of the public procedure, and to report their diligence to the commission from time to time.¹

Engrossed with anxieties about the sectaries, and with sentiments of loyalty to the king, in whom they had reposed unbounded confidence, the commission returned such an answer to the query, respecting the act of classes, as encouraged the ascendant party to rescind it without delay. "They declared, lest any aspersion should be cast upon them for encroaching

¹ Balfour, iv. 318.

upon, or intruding themselves into, the office of civil power and authority, that they did not assume to themselves, nor was it competent for them to make or repeal acts of parliament; and as they had no hand in making the act of classes, so neither would they take upon them to declare whether it ought to be continued or repealed; nor would they give any opinion respecting the obligation of the treaty with England; but as for the Solemn League and Covenant, they did not think that they particularly determine any definite time for excluding persons from office for bygone offences; so that nothing upon account of these grounds hindered, but that persons, formerly debarred from places of trust, may have the censures inflicted upon them by the act of classes rescinded, without sin, by the parliament, provided they be men who have satisfied the church, renewed the covenant, of good affection to the cause of God, and of a blameless and Christian conversation, which ought always carefully to be observed and made conscience of, though there were no such act as the act of classes."

The above declaration is characterized by the common weakness of measures framed for the purpose of pleasing opposite parties. It professed that none were to be admitted to places of trust but men of good principles, while it consented to the removal of the only remaining barrier, by which the liberties of the church and of the nation were protected from those who were manifestly disposed to trample them under foot. The king had taken the covenant, and engaged to support the cause of presbytery, and when similar professions could serve similar purposes to his friends, they would not hesitate to follow his example. The act of classes was rescinded by the parliament which met at Stirling in May. The concurrence of the church in this measure, and in one of a similar kind, which had passed in the close of the preceding year, respecting the employment in the army of such as had

formerly been excluded on account of malignancy, are known by the name of the Public Resolutions.

The abolition of the act of classes was regarded by a large body of presbyterians as a startling measure ; and, in order to allay their excitement, the parliament found it necessary to append to the act of repeal a new ratification of a former law that had been passed in favour of the reformation, and ordained that before any can be received who had been excluded by the act of classes, they must subscribe an engagement to maintain the reformed religion presently established, and neither directly nor indirectly to resent any opposition or censure to which they may have been subjected on account of their former malignancy. But all these provisions could afford no satisfactory guarantee to the discerning friends of the reformation, who knew that the execution of the law was now entrusted to the very men against whose malignancy it was chiefly directed. One party in the church continued to approve of the public resolutions, and another was decidedly opposed to them. The former were called Resolutioners, and the latter Protesters. By his queries and artful management, Charles thus succeeded in dividing the presbyterians, and in kindling in the church a spirit of fierce animosity, which greatly diminished her strength, and injured the interests of religion.

The protesters, as might be expected, improved every opportunity in public and in private of condemning the public resolutions, and of impugning the general conduct of the prevailing parties in church and state. On the other hand, the commission of the General Assembly, irritated at the charges preferred against them, and at the exposure made of the nature and tendencies of their measures, enacted that no persons opposed to the public resolutions be chosen as members of the General Assembly, and for this purpose directed a circular to be issued for the regulation of presbyteries at the ensuing election.

In those presbyteries where a majority were favourable to the measures of court, the instructions of the commission were strictly attended to ; but in a number of instances, the protesters, being the majority, appointed commissioners of their own sentiments. In consequence of the enactment of the commission, the elections were considerably affected, a number being excluded, and some of them summoned to appear at the bar of the court, simply on the ground of their active and open hostility to the public resolutions.

The General Assembly met at St Andrews on the 16th day of July. Lord Balcarras appeared as his majesty's commissioner, and Mr Robert Douglas was chosen moderator. The commissions being given in, Mr John Menzies proposed that none of the members who had been on the late commission of Assembly be admitted as members of court, as their proceedings had been scandalous, and such as disqualified them for holding a seat in any ecclesiastical judicatory. The proposal, after creating an angry discussion, was set aside until the proceedings of the commission were submitted for the approbation of the Assembly. Balcarras presented his majesty's letter, which, while strongly recommending union, actually fomented dissension by calling upon the assembly to inflict censures upon all who opposed the public resolutions. After the appointment of a committee for examining the proceedings of the commission, and several others for the arrangement of business, it was proposed to hold a conference, for the purpose of restoring peace and preventing the evils resulting from existing divisions. The propriety of holding such a conference before the trial of the commission, was keenly contested, and it does not appear that the motion was carried. The Assembly proceeded to consider the cases of those, the validity of whose commissions was called in question. And opposition to the public resolutions being the common objection,

both parties engaged in the debate with great warmth, and the subject was at length deferred until the books of the commission were examined.

The circular of the commission, and its effect upon the freedom of elections, had induced the protesters to give in a paper at the commencement against the constitution of the court, for the purpose of persuading them to adjourn the meeting until the elections were purified from the effects of the iniquitous interference of the commission. But the Assembly proceeded to business, and positively rejected the commission of Mr Patrick Gillespie and of some others from the presbytery of Glasgow. Perceiving the determination of their opponents, Mr Rutherford gave in a protestation against the validity of the meeting, and then left the house, being followed by the most of his party then present. This paper, subscribed by twenty-two, states with all firmness the reasons upon which they had entered their protest—the manner in which the freedom of election had been invaded—many who had obtained commissions were prevented from attending by the presence of the English army—the king's letter calling upon the church to censure all such as had opposed the public resolutions, and the commissions of many being sustained who had been active promoters of defections, and had endeavoured to expose to civil pains such as objected to their procedure. Such was the ground, on which it was protested that the Assembly was unlawful and incapable of proceeding to business. It was also strongly protested that they ought not to ratify the proceedings of the commission, not only owing to their want of just power and authority so to do, but also because these proceedings contained many things contrary to the trust committed to the commissioners.¹

The above protestation was given in at a meeting

¹ Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, pp. 626–628.

called at a late hour on Sabbath evening, in consequence of an alarm occasioned by the discomfiture of the king's forces by the English at Dunfermline. The Assembly was then adjourned to Dundee, where it met on the following Tuesday.

At their first meeting after their adjournment, the Assembly proceeded to consider the protest, but the subscribers and many others being absent, no person appeared in support of it. The commissioner inveighed against the paper as derogatory to the honour and injurious to the freedom of the house; evinced a disposition, should the Assembly consent, which he said, all were bound to do, to assert the honour of the court, by interposing his majesty's authority. But the moderator prudently intimated, that agreeably to the power of the church, "they should deal with them ecclesiastically;" and then proceeded to call upon members to declare their judgment of the protestation. By all that spoke it was strongly condemned as deserving of the highest censure. But Mr Hamilton suggested the propriety of a distinction, betwixt the subscribers who had been more active in opposing the measures adopted for the public safety, and others who had been led in the course they had followed. The matter was then referred to a committee, who gave in their report on the following day. The terms in which the moderator spoke of the remonstrance, affords a striking proof of the strong feeling entertained by his party against the subscribers. Douglas, a man distinguished for mildness of temper, and in the best sense, for moderation of measures, said, "he thought it no hard matter to evince the protestation to be the highest breach of all the articles of the covenant, that ever was since the work of reformation began." After much debate it was agreed to cite the following five ministers to the bar of the Assembly, viz. Messrs James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, James Simson, James Nasmyth, and John Menzies. And in the ardour of their zeal against

their more faithful brethren, this Assembly actually deposed Messrs Guthrie, Gillespie, and Simson, and suspended Nasmyth.

Having thus disposed of their dissentient brethren, the resolutioners proceeded to consider the conduct of the commission. The protesters had declared the commission highly culpable for exceeding their instructions, and for virtually sacrificing the trust committed to them; but the Assembly highly approved of its proceedings, some members remarking that too much lenity had been shewn to the opposite party. The great body of the protesters being absent, the Assembly was allowed to proceed with little opposition. Some accused the commission of surrendering the liberties of the church by not protesting against the confinement of the ministers of Stirling at Perth for what belonged to their ministerial functions; and Warriston had given in a paper upon the same subject. But the moderator and some members palliated the matter, and succeeded in reducing it to an affair of little moment; so that the proceedings of the commission were not merely approved, but applauded in higher terms than what had been used by former Assemblies on similar occasions. Thus the General Assembly that had so very lately issued solemn warnings against malignants, now lauded the commission for concurring with the court in opening a door for their reception; and frowned with displeasure at all who presumed to question the propriety of their conduct. After discussing the causes of a fast, among which the "insolent attempt" upon the commission occupied a prominent part, the Assembly was constrained to rise on account of the progress of the English; and while members were repairing to their several places of abode, the moderator and some others were arrested and sent into England.¹

The liberal and enlightened reviewer of the pro-

¹ Lamont's Diary, 40, 41.

ceedings of the Assembly 1651 will find cause for the utmost caution in commending or in censuring either party. The honour of descrying the danger to which the concessions of their brethren had exposed the common cause, is unquestionably due to the protesters. They acted the part of faithful watchmen in seeing the danger connected with the public resolutions, and in sounding the alarm against them, as amounting to a surrendering of the bulwarks of the public cause, and at utter variance with former professions and obligations. If they did err, it was more in the temper and manner than in the motives and principles of their proceedings, and they were certainly entitled to different treatment from what was given them by the Assembly. On the other hand the conduct of the commission had been in many respects very unjustifiable. With a mere quorum they had ventured to dispose of matters of the greatest moment. In a season of imminent danger they had first consented to the removal of some of the principal defences of the sanctuary; and then, encouraged by the state, they had visited with undue severity all such as condemned their precipitation. To the royalists they had shewn themselves weak, unguarded, temporizing; but to their brethren, who had faithfully warned them of their danger, they had been resolute, overbearing, resentful. The Assembly, animated by the same spirit, ratified their concessions and defections, and even surpassed them in the severity of their inflictions upon their brethren. And yet there was much in their circumstances to account for their conduct, and to qualify the estimate which a candid mind will form of their procedure. Our charity constrains us to believe that Douglas and the leading members had nothing farther from their intentions than the surrender of their principles; that they regarded their concessions to the royalists as necessary for enabling them to defend every thing dear to them from the English sectaries; and that the very strong charges

exhibited against them by their brethren in the shape of protests, remonstrances, and pungent speeches, for defections of which they were not conscious, awakened their indignation, and betrayed them into expressions, decisions, and courses, which in ordinary circumstances would never have appeared.

But it is full time to recur to the progress and the result of military operations. Charles had now obtained all the ascendancy over the presbyterians that was in the mean time desirable to him. In consequence of the public resolutions, the most important offices in the army and in the state were in the hands of the royalists, who were no less hostile to the presbyterians than to the sectaries; and but for the presence of the invading army, the Church of Scotland must have very soon felt the consequences of her inconsiderate concessions. But a collision with the English had become inevitable; and the indisposition of Cromwell alone prevented it from occurring much earlier. It is surprising that so much public business could be transacted in the presence of a formidable invader, and that nearly a year could elapse without a decisive battle. Cromwell had not indeed been idle. He had got possession of some important defences, and of the whole country within the Forth and Clyde; and all his powers of argument and persuasion had been put forth to reconcile the Scots to his favourite system. But although he plumed himself perhaps more on his abilities for ecclesiastical controversy than even on his military tactics, it does not appear that his success in captivating and converting the public mind was very brilliant at this time.¹

¹ At Glasgow, in May, the English general held a conference with a number of ministers about the lawfulness of invading Scotland. He gave them his reasons in writing, and the presbyterians impugned them so strongly, and with such evidence proved him guilty of perjury and murder, contrary to the Word of God and the covenants he had sworn, that some of

Charles, at the request of the estates, was pleased to assume the command of the Scottish army, which was now, in consequence of the vigorous efforts employed by all classes, reinforced to a degree of efficiency equal to what it had possessed previous to the battle of Dunbar. The duke of Hamilton was appointed lieutenant, and Leslie major-general. Commencing cautiously, it was resolved to act for some time on the defensive. They encamped in the Torwood, a few miles from Stirling, where their front was protected by the Carron, and by strong entrenchments, and they enjoyed free communication with the whole country behind them. Their situation here was all but impregnable, and the English general, seeing no hope of being able to dislodge them by direct assault, resolved to intercept their supplies, and for this purpose dispatched Overton with fourteen hundred men into Fife, who surprised and took North Queensferry. To regain this important passage a strong body of the royal forces was sent under Brown and Holborn. But Lambert advanced with the utmost celerity to the assistance of Overton, when a fierce engagement ensued, which terminated in the entire defeat of the Scots, nearly two thousand being killed on the field, and five or six hundred taken prisoners, among whom was Sir John Brown, a brave officer, who was severely wounded, and only survived a few days.² The progress of the English was now rapid and irresistible; the towns and fortifications, despairing of being able to offer any successful resistance, were generally prepared to

the officers avowed their conviction of the truth, and acknowledged that till now they never did see the weakness of their own arguments. Cromwell requested another conference at three o'clock, the next afternoon, but he deserted the meeting, and, fearing the effects of such arguments among his men, commanded the army, on pain of death, to remove towards Edinburgh.—Balfour, iv. 298.

¹ Laing, vol. iv. 467. Aikman, iv. 420.

open their gates. The situation of the king became every day more perilous. His supplies were intercepted by the enemy, the troops began to desert his standard, and he was constrained either to try his fortune in a decisive battle, or to consult his safety by marching his forces into some other quarter. In this predicament, Charles at length resolved to march into England in the expectation of being met by efficient support from his friends in that kingdom, and of being enabled to combat the enemy, in circumstances that might confer on him greater renown than could possibly be attained in Scotland. His admirers applaud the royal movement as worthy of the most distinguished heroism; while others, with perhaps better reason, regard it as evincing a conscious weakness, if not a want of courage. Argyll opposed the resolution very strenuously, and the arguments he employed have been acknowledged to possess great weight. He insisted that it was ungenerous in the king to desert Scotland after what had been done for him; that his condition was by no means desperate, but far preferable to any thing to be expected in England; that by skilful defensive operations Cromwell might in a short time be reduced to extremities, and be compelled to leave the kingdom. But Argyll's influence at court being at an end, his counsel and his cogent reasonings were despised, and he was permitted to return to his estate. The camp was moved with precipitancy, and the king proceeded into England at the head of a formidable army.

Such a movement on the part of the royal forces was not expected by Cromwell, but in every respect equal to the emergency, he proceeded to the employment of the most decisive and vigorous measures. To general Monk was committed the completion of the conquest of Scotland. Letters were dispatched to England for the purpose of giving seasonable warning, and of prompting the parliament to prepare

the military for offering the most formidable resistance to the royal forces. And Lambert was destined to hang upon the rear, and to harass the king's movements, while Cromwell was to follow by rapid marches to give the decisive stroke to the campaign.

On entering England, the king soon found his hopes of support to be utterly fallacious. Instead of the insurrection in his defence, on which his majesty had fondly calculated, the royalists of the south seemed taken by surprise; and, regarding his march more as a flight than as a formidable invasion, few were disposed to join his standard. Nor in this critical conjuncture, could the internal dissensions of the Scottish army be concealed. While the presbyterians prevailed with the king to publish the covenant as the condition on which the English were to be admitted to join his standard, the royalists successfully exerted themselves to suppress it; and the consequence was a confirmation of the assertions of Cromwell and the sectaries, that Charles, "the centre of malignity," could not be trusted with any degree of safety. In a skirmish with Lambert at Warrington bridge, the Scots were successful in dispersing the enemy, and some of them regarded this advantage as a pledge of final triumph. But the sagacious Leslie did not conceal his apprehensions of a disastrous issue. While the Scottish army was every day diminishing in numbers, decaying in strength, and becoming more dispirited, the enemy was concentrating his forces from all quarters; and, enthusiastic in the certain hope of victory, was preparing with the utmost alacrity to assail the royal forces in a manner they could not resist. Instead of marching his forces directly to the capital, Charles was obliged to stop short at Worcester, for the purpose of recruiting his men from the exhaustion of former marches, and in the hope of obtaining considerable accessions from among his old adherents in the vicinity. It was here that Cromwell achieved his final conquest over the young and san-

guine monarch. The Scottish army, surpassed in numbers by the English militia, were scarcely capable of offering any successful resistance; but when Cromwell advanced at the head of eighteen thousand veterans, the condition of the royalists became utterly hopeless. For some hours, victory was disputed with most resolute bravery, and with alternate success. But the arrival of fresh troops at length gave a decided preponderance in favour of the English. The Scottish army fell into general confusion, and the vanquished and the victors rushed into the city. It was remarked, that at this crisis, Charles, instead of inspiring his forces with courage, and shewing himself worthy of the trust reposed in him, had been fast asleep, and was only now surprised with the intelligence of a battle. As if capable of retrieving every misfortune, he rushed into the streets, and called upon his flying troopers to rally; but on learning the true state of affairs, he immediately consulted his safety by flight. The cavalry fled with the utmost precipitancy; but the foot fell into the hands of the enemy, and many of them, in attempting to defend the citadel, were put to the sword.

The battle of Worcester was fought on the third of September, being the anniversary of that of Dunbar, and, what is still more extraordinary, the same month and day of the month on which Cromwell died. It lasted about five hours, and Cromwell spoke of it as the hottest engagement he had ever witnessed. "Three thousand were slain in the field. Ten thousand prisoners were taken in the town or in pursuit next day; and when driven to London, such as survived the mortality of a crowded prison and the want of food were shipped for the plantations. The duke of Hamilton was mortally wounded. Eleven noblemen were taken prisoners, of whom the earls of Derby and Lauderdale were destined, the one for a scaffold, and the other for a long confinement in the Tower. Leslie and

Middleton, who escaped with the horse, were intercepted in Yorkshire; and if a few fugitives were preserved by flight, none returned in a body to Scotland."¹ The royal standard, colours, coach and horses, with the whole baggage, became a prize to the victors. In short, it proved to Scotland one of the most unfortunate and fatal conflicts in which the kingdom had ever engaged, and in so far as national importance depended upon the house of Stuart and on the nobility, her circumstances were reduced to the lowest extremity.

In the eyes of the conquerors the capture of others of any rank or number was of little moment compared with the apprehension of the king. A thousand guineas was the reward offered for the royal fugitive, and the most eager and searching inquiry was made for him in all quarters. His escape at this time is the most remarkable passage in the whole of his personal history. While Hume and the other panegyrists of Charles cannot make much of his military prowess, they delight in romantic descriptions of his adventures and perils in escaping from Worcester to an asylum beyond the seas. And he certainly proved himself now even a greater adept in the arts of masquerade, than he had formerly done in duping the covenanters.

To avoid suspicion, he soon separated from those that had accompanied him in his flight from the field of battle, and spent the first night in the fields with two servants, who, after polling their master's hair, were dismissed in the morning. The royal fugitive then entered a wood in circumstances of the most forlorn and perilous dercription. Instructed by the earl of Derby, he went to a farm house and entrusted his person to one Penderell, who acquitted himself in the most honourable and affectionate manner to the unfortunate prince. Alike unmoved by tempting bribes

¹ Laing, iii. 473.

and terrific threats, he, with the assistance of his brothers, took the king under his protection; and, having clothed him in one of their own dresses, they took him along with them to the wood, where he joined them with a hand-bill on the pretence of cutting faggots. For a considerable time he concealed himself amid the dense foliage of a large oak, and so narrow was his escape here, that he heard the soldiers passing below and conversing on the manner in which they would manage his apprehension. He was afterwards conducted from one place to another, frequently lodging in barns, and glad to participate of the homeliest fare. Some of the Roman catholics, aware of his good affection to their infallible religion, received him with the most respectful attention, and sometimes concealed him in the *priests' hole*, the place where their ghostly guides were hid from their pursuers. After remaining more than forty days in England, during which time an equal number of persons had been privy to his concealment, Charles, after many hair-breadth escapes, at length succeeded in safely embarking at Shoreham in Sussex, and in transporting himself to Normandy.

The success of Cromwell at Worcester was not more triumphant than that of Monk in Scotland. To this general the garrison of Stirling, although possessed of resources sufficient for a protracted defence, surrendered without the least opposition, the soldiers being more concerned for their own private interests than for the public defence. Having obtained possession of this important fortress, Monk marched his forces to the town of Dundee, to which a great portion of the wealth of the surrounding country had been consigned. On refusing to surrender, the town, owing to the unfaithfulness of its defenders, was easily forced, and the garrison being put to the sword, the most wanton cruelties were inflicted upon the inhabitants. The barbarous conqueror, inexorable to the entreaties of age or of sex, subjected all

classes to indiscriminate slaughter. Forgetting the laws of war, commonly acknowledged in civilized countries, Monk gave orders for the execution of the excellent governor after he had surrendered. A few royalists endeavoured to muster their forces in different parts of the kingdom, but in every case were speedily dispersed. While the committee of estates were met at Alyth to consult about public affairs, they were apprehended, and, along with Messrs Andrew Affleck and John Robertson, ministers of Dundee, who had been rudely treated by Monk, were conveyed as prisoners to England. The report of the tragic fate of Dundee spread such a panic in other places, that they did not venture to offer any resistance to the conqueror. The nobility of Scotland were now nearly all imprisoned, dead, or reduced to poverty. Argyll, who had fortunately escaped from the ruinous enterprise against England, wrote a letter to Monk requesting a treaty for the purpose of preventing any farther effusion of blood; but the general answered him in a laconic style, "that he could not hold any terms with him without permission from the parliament of England."¹ The marquis, however, was still enabled, by the number of his retainers and devoted followers situated in the wilds and fastnesses of the country, to impose some restraints upon the conquerors, and to inspire them with some degree of moderation. But there was now no one able to dispute the palm with Cromwell; his power was paramount in the three kingdoms, and his fame awakened the astonishment of the world.

¹ And yet this barbarous Monk, who now acted as the tool of the usurper, was, at the restoration of Charles, not only spared, but exalted to the rank of an earl; while Argyll, chiefly through evidence produced by this same Monk, was the first who fell a victim to his patriotism!

CHAPTER III.

Sketch of the early history of Oliver Cromwell—his services to the English parliament—his dishonourable abandonment of presbytery—Solemn League vindicated from the charge of persecution—countenance of Cromwell to independency, chief cause of its success—aversion of the Scots to the sectarianism of England—demeanour of Cromwell after the battle of Worcester. Provision for the government of Scotland—proposals for uniting the kingdoms—English terms offensive to the Scots—protesters more favoured by the English than the resolutioners—presbytery of Kilmarnock's publication of "Discovery of sins of the ministry,"—remarks—"Causes of God's Wrath,"—remarks—Continuance of contest respecting public resolutions—doctrine of protesters formerly published by George Gillespie—Binning's publication on same subject—General Assembly meets—representation of protesters—their proposals of conference—proceedings of Assembly—protestation against it—Assembly's terms of union—failure of conference—rules for the admission of preachers—acts respecting the eldership and admissions to communion of the church—declaration against protesters—reasons why protesters did not agree to proposed terms of union—"Review of protestation," by a member of Assembly. Navigation act and Dutch war—influence of Cromwell—changes in the universities of England and Scotland—partiality to protesters—complaints of resolutioners—Cromwell's laudable concern for the settlement of efficient ministers—Engagement to commonwealth objected to by presbyterians—not rigorously enforced—debate betwixt Mr Wood and an English chaplain—commission of General Assembly—contest respecting validity of former Assemblies—proposed conference for union not agreed to by protesters—progress of division—pamphlets. General Assembly forcibly dissolved by English soldiers—protesters claim ecclesiastical authority—complaints of oppression—insurrection promoted by Glencairn and Balcarras—division among the officers—their dispersion by the English—Cromwell dissolves the Long Parliament—Barebones' parliament—its dissolution—Cromwell promoted to the protectorate. Tendencies of sectarianism, its success in England, and failure in Scotland—clergymen annoyed by English soldiery—contest in synod of Glasgow and se-

paration of parties—popularity of resolutioners. Negotiations for union proposed by Durham and Blair—meeting not agreed to by resolutioners—both parties apply to the protector—protesters propose a conference—conference at Edinburgh—its proceedings—overtures—conference terminated unsuccessfully—protesters' purposes opposed by new parliament—its dissolution—Cromwell gains favour among presbyterians. Mr James Sharp proceeds to London, and frustrates the attempts of protesters—publishes a pamphlet—its design—their differences referred to a committee of English ministers—report to the protector—return of Sharp—discouragements of protesters—Mr Wood's pamphlet and protesters' defence—precarious circumstances of Cromwell—major-generals appointed governors of provinces—new parliament—Cromwell's unsuccessful attempt to obtain regal honours—dissolution of parliament—his death and character.

OLIVER CROMWELL was not raised to the high elevation he now occupied either by the advantages of his birth, or the extraordinary acquirements of his youth. He was born at Huntingdon, in the close of the sixteenth century, of a very ancient and respectable family; but being the son of a second brother, he was not heir to any considerable fortune. In the progress of his education he was sent to Cambridge, but gave no premonition of his future eminence, either by uncommon diligence, or by the indications of genius. At this early period of his life Cromwell lost his father, and, after remaining a short time with his mother, he was sent to Lincoln's Inn for the study of law; but instead of bending his mind to the patient and inquisitive preparations necessary to success in that profession, he abandoned himself to those follies and vices which often prove ruinous to young men before their actual entrance upon the business of the world. In consequence of his prodigality, Cromwell soon found himself involved in pecuniary embarrassments. But before reaching that stage of dissipation from which very few are recovered, he was arrested by some cause, whether natural or supernatural it may be very difficult to determine,

and his general habits underwent a complete revolution. He now became no less remarkable for his sobriety, than he had formerly been notorious for his extravagance. Abandoning his former companions, he sought and cultivated the acquaintance of professing Christians, and soon evinced a decided preference for the persuasion of the puritans. He was married, when about twenty-one years of age, to Elizabeth Bouchier, daughter of a respectable knight in Essex, "a woman of spirit and parts, and not wanting in pride, though she shewed all due submission to her husband."¹ For some time after his marriage he remained at Huntingdon; but having, on the death of his uncle, succeeded to an estate of four or five hundred pounds a-year, he removed to the island of Ely, and there devoted himself for a number of years to agricultural pursuits. It is admitted by his most virulent detractors, that he never recurred to the vicious habits of his youth; but some of them represent him as having involved himself in similar embarrassments, by calling his servants to join with him in religious exercises for a considerable portion of the time that ought to have been devoted to the plough.² Did the charge rest merely upon the authority of Hume, it might be considered as one of the countless thrusts at Christianity, in which he recklessly deals; but it seems indisputable that the religious professions and exercises of Cromwell were characterised by an excess of enthusiasm, although there is no reason to think they proved so prejudicial to his circumstances as has been alleged.

Cromwell was little known beyond the bounds of his own neighbourhood until he had reached the fortieth year of his age. At a time when the liberties of the nation were equally invaded by the ambitious encroachments of the court and of the clergy, Crom-

¹ Harris' Life of Cromwell, p. 7.

² Hume's Hist. of England, ii. 727.

well was known to his acquaintances as a warm advocate of the rights of the people; but the part of his conduct which rendered him most popular, was the leading opposition he managed among the people of Cambridge against a measure of court forwarded by the earl of Bedford, for draining the fens in Lincolnshire and the island of Ely. In consequence of the efficient support he gave to the popular side of that question, he succeeded in obtaining an appointment as a Burgess of Cambridge, to serve in the parliament of 1640, afterwards called the Long Parliament. His qualifications for speaking were not fitted to render him conspicuous in the house of commons; but the fervour of his spirit led him frequently to mingle in the debate, and he was particularly active in forwarding the remonstrance against public grievances, which hastened the crisis to which the national affairs had for a considerable time been tending. So intent was he upon that measure, that on the day after it was carried, he assured lord Falkland that if it had been lost, he would have sold his property, and sought a dwelling-place beyond seas.¹

But it was not in the senate that this extraordinary man was destined to display the vigour of his mind, or to rise to any considerable eminence. The army afforded the field on which he acquired his influence and founded his fame. And it is very remarkable that he had arrived at the meridian of life, being not less than forty-three years of age before commencing his military career. He first raised a troop of horse in his own locality, and soon augmented it into a regiment. It was owing to his military genius and energy that the armies of the parliament acquired the superior discipline and animation which rendered them so successful. His own regiment soon surpassed all the rest in their appearance and armour, and it is admitted that having imbibed a por-

¹ Critical Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 19.

tion of his spirit of religious fervour, they were distinguished for civility and general correctness of behaviour.

The high order of Cromwell's military talents could not fail to recommend him, and Marston moor, Naseby, and other places furnished sufficient opportunity for testing his prowess. By a series of brilliant successes, he succeeded in completely subduing the king's forces, and in almost suppressing royalism in England. He was very artful in saving himself from the odium connected with the king's death, yet it would not be easy to prove that his hand was not, in reality, as deep in the tragedy as that of any other man. Nor was his treatment of the presbyterians by any means honourable. After making many professions of attachment to them, and joining with England in the Solemn League, he successfully exerted his influence in frustrating their attempts for the general establishment of presbytery in the kingdom. It is common to justify the proceedings of the dominant faction in England, by alleging that the measures adopted by the presbyterians, were so illiberal and intolerant as to be altogether unworthy of support. As a proof of the persecuting spirit of their system, we are frequently referred to the Solemn League. This sacred document is susceptible of defence on the ground of its own intrinsic merits; but some of its detractors do not seem to know what it is of importance to state, that the independents were no less active in originating and for a time in promoting the Solemn League than the presbyterians. The covenant referred to was drawn up at Edinburgh, with the express concurrence of commissioners from the English parliament, including Philip Nye, one of the leading ministers among the independents, and Sir Henry Vane, their oracle in the house of commons. Nye and Vane posted with it to London and procured its ratification. When it was sworn by the members in the house of commons, Nye delivered a speech, in

which he extolled it to the skies, as "a covenant and league never to be forgotten by us and our posterity;—such an oath, as for matter, persons, and other circumstances, the like hath not been in any age, or oath we read of in sacred or human stories, yet sufficiently warranted by both;" adding, "we invoke the name of the great God, that his vows, yea his curse, may be upon us if we do not do this."¹

Liberality and liberty of conscience were the Shibboleth of Cromwell and of the English sectaries; but with all their pompous professions and speculations on these subjects, it would not be difficult to prove, that during the only period of their possessing power in Britain, they were guilty of as great intolerance as ever has at any time been practised by presbyterians. It is not meant that all the advocates of presbytery who appeared in this period were sufficiently guarded, or that in their zeal against latitudinarianism they have never fallen into the opposite extreme of using expressions and arguments which, construed in the abstract, would lead to persecution; but it is maintained that the true genius of presbytery, and of the system advocated by the presbyterians, who adhered to the Solemn League, is that of liberty in the purest sense of the term, and that all who know the men will revere them as the undaunted champions of freedom. It has never been proved that they subjected any to suffering simply on religious grounds; and it is most manifest that when they excluded and opposed persons of other persuasions, it was on the ground of their opinions and practices being such as would endanger the public institutions of the kingdom. And, let it be asked, did not Cromwell and the Scots headed by him, proceed on the same principles and perform a similar part? Did he never impose any restraint upon ministerial freedom, or sub-

¹ Review of Orme's Life of Owen, in Dr M'Crie's Miscel. Writings, p. 503.

ject any servant of Christ to suffering of any kind for acting agreeably to his profession? The answers to such questions will be very apparent from the sequel.

The issue of the late war was contemplated with intense anxiety by the people of Scotland, as what could not fail to affect deeply both the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom. In the recent history of England they saw a fair specimen of what might be expected at home. With the highest pretensions of liberality, Cromwell and his coadjutors employed their influence in such a manner as to give a decided preference to the independent and sectarian party; and, while they professed to recognise presbytery as the national religion, they did every thing in their power to cramp its energies, to keep it in the back-ground, or to compel conformity to the latitudinarianism then on the ascendant. Independency did not owe its success to any inherent vigour peculiar to that system, but to the countenance of those who had by military violence successfully grasped the reins of government, and who could not fail to give preponderance to any scale into which they might be pleased to cast their influence. Cromwell and his army are to be regarded as having engaged in a campaign, at once against the Stuarts and against those who were struggling for the establishment of presbytery. Nor were they more watchful and unwearied in their efforts to subdue the kingdom to the control of their arms than they were zealous and assiduous, by preaching and by imposing pretensions of liberality, to convert the church to the sentiments and practices of the sectaries.

It is readily admitted that many of the independents were men of high respectability, both for learning and piety, whose labours in congregations and in parish churches (in these cases they did not spurn an endowment) proved a very great blessing to England. But such men formed but one of the many sects that then prevailed. The country, in a short

time, literally swarmed with motley groups, many of which published the grossest heresies, and, by their fanaticism and excesses, proved a disgrace to religion. As the natural result of such a spirit, it had become common among them to deride a stated ministry as a system of pious fraud and priestcraft. And, accordingly, our modern independents, while they frequently refer to England under Cromwell, as the theatre on which their system of ecclesiastical policy was tested with triumphant success, find themselves under the necessity of distinguishing betwixt "independents properly so called, and a crowd of anomalous fanatics, baptists, and fifth-monarchy men, seekers and antinomians, levellers and ranters, *all* monstrous, *all* prodigious things."¹ No wonder that the presbyterians of Scotland regarded the progress of such a sectarianism with aversion and alarm. They had also good cause to entertain serious apprehensions about their personal safety as well as their public interests. Christopher Love, an English presbyterian of ardent piety and general excellence, had been lately executed for corresponding with the friends of the king in Scotland, a part which he was led to act, not from purely political motives, but from the hope of uniting the presbyterians of both kingdoms in the defence of their religious profession. A number of the members of the General Assembly, including the moderator, and two of the ministers of Dundee, had been arrested and sent prisoners into England, where they were still detained. The Church of Scotland had therefore sufficient reason to dread the resentment of the conqueror, the progress of his ecclesiastical polity, and the general principles which his influence powerfully contributed to recommend.

The battle of Worcester was represented by Cromwell as his "crowning mercy," and it unquestionably very much extended his fame and gratified his per-

¹ Orme's Life of Owen, p. 90.

sonal ambition. The trumpet of his greatness was now loudly sounded in foreign courts; and he was celebrated by his admirers and parasites, not only as the greatest man of the age, but as scarcely rivalled in history.¹ On his return to the metropolis, he was received with a magnificence which amounted to a public admission of his supremacy in the kingdom. The speaker of parliament and the president of council went out to meet him in the fields, accompanied by a considerable number of members, the magistrates, and many thousands of quality. As the general proceeded, "he was saluted all the way with volleys of great and small shot, and loud acclamations and shouts of the people." These honours he bore with the utmost ease, appearing in no degree intoxicated by so large an offering of public applause. Yet to the more intimate and discerning of his acquaintances, his ambition was visible under all his artifice; and various parts of his conduct betrayed his purposes of personal aggrandizement, and his jealousy of such as might thwart his designs. The militia and volunteers had evinced distinguished bravery at Worcester, and while their commander did them justice in the dispatches, he availed himself of an early opportunity to dispense with their services, lest, feeling their own importance, they might dispute his pretensions. In his common conversation he conducted himself with the utmost condescension and humility; "in all his discourse about the affair of Worcester," says a historian of these times, "he would seldom mention any thing of himself, but the gallantry of his officers and soldiers: and gave, as was due, all the glory of his actions unto God."²

Having subdued the Scots, Cromwell and the English parliament proceeded to make arrangements for the government of that kingdom. For this purpose,

¹ Brodie's History of the British Empire, iv. 313.

² Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 509.

St John, Sir Henry Vane, and six others, were appointed as a deputation, and, in the beginning of 1652, dispatched to make proposals for the union of the two kingdoms. When they arrived in Scotland, they found every thing in a state of complete anarchy, cities without magistrates, the course of justice suspended, and the whole country convulsed by faction, discontent, and fearful apprehensions. They met with a very cold reception. Averse to any treaty that would recognize the authority of usurpers, or that might compromise the independence of the kingdom, it was with the utmost difficulty that the Scots condescended to appoint commissioners of the counties and burghs to meet with them, or that such as were appointed would comply. The terms proposed by the English were, at first view, very plausible. They offered to put Scotland on the same footing with themselves, and engaged that representatives, elected on equitable principles, should be admitted to the English parliament, and that the two kingdoms should have one common interest. But, in reality, it amounted to a proposal that Scotland, having surrendered her national existence, should be reduced to the level of an English province. To Scotsmen, whose pride of independence was proverbial, such an overture could not fail to be very offensive. It was at once condemned by many, and particularly by the clergy, who denounced it as dishonourable, as at variance with the covenants, hazardous to the ecclesiastical constitution, and degrading to the country. But the measure, being supported by the power of the conqueror, was not to be resisted; and on the principle of it a bill was introduced into the English parliament and committed; the dissolution of that assembly alone prevented the completion as a regular transaction between the kingdoms. Meanwhile, every arrangement was expedited for the restoration of order in the kingdom. Judges of both kingdoms were appointed for the determination of causes, justice was

strictly administered, peace maintained, and, but for the national partiality to the king, and for the continuance of ecclesiastical contention, there might have been general contentment and prosperity.

The late civil changes of the country could not fail to exert an extensive influence in the relative state of parties in the church. The presbyterians of Scotland had, with good cause, entertained fearful anxieties about the progress of sectarianism, and they had sounded loud alarms of the danger to which their Zion was exposed from its incursions. But in point of fact, the Church of Scotland had more to fear from her own intestine strife than from any exotic introduced by the civil powers or the religious parties of England. Although the whole tenour of Cromwell's procedure had a tendency to foster sectarianism, and to supplant all national establishments of religion, yet, pluming himself on his principles of toleration, he did not directly impose any positive restraint on the preaching of the gospel in the parish churches, but professed to bid "God speed" to all evangelical and peaceful presbyterians.

We have formerly seen "the beginnings of strife" among themselves, and shall find in our progress that it really was "like the letting out of water." The resolutioners and protesters were both opposed to Cromwell and the sectaries; but the former had embarked much more fully in the cause of the king than the latter, and, consequently, they had rendered themselves more obnoxious to the conquerors. The protesters, upon whom Charles had frowned, and against whom he had directed the displeasure of the parliament and of the General Assembly, were now promoted to the vantage ground by the civil powers, and in their turn enjoyed the preferments of state favour; while the resolutioners were turned to the back ground, and, on political principles, exposed to numerous and important disadvantages. In consequence of the dispersion and disasters of the

royal forces, the major party in the church was greatly perplexed and depressed ; but they showed no disposition to abandon their political sentiments any more than their religious principles, to pander to their conquerors, or to propose more accommodating terms to their brethren in the church with whom they were at variance. Many of them did not hesitate to pray for the king as before, and, in spite of Cromwell, to avow their attachment to the royal cause. The protesters also, proceeding in their work with increasing zeal, endeavoured to probe public evils more deeply, and to employ the means they believed to be best fitted to ensure a happy convalescence. After the battle of Worcester, about sixty of them met at Edinburgh, and spent some time in prayer and conference respecting personal and public evils. And, soon after, the presbytery of Kilmarnock, where the protesters were more powerful, published a pamphlet, entitled "A discovery, after some search, of the Sins of the Ministers." It contains twelve articles, and in some of them there appears a degree of conformity to the new government. For example, in the second article, they acknowledge as a public evil, "The taxing of ourselves by solemn covenants and oaths to the perpetual maintenance of some things for which there is no warrant in the word of God, as perpetual adherence to monarchy in such a line, and constant maintenance of the privileges of parliament." And in the following article they deplore a "fleshly zeal and policy in pursuing and carrying on the covenant and league by cruel oppressions, making acts for constraining all sorts of persons, both men of tender consciences and the most ignorant and profane, to take the covenant under the hazard of incurring the highest censures of church and state." In a similar style, they lament the prejudices manifested, and the bitter invectives published from the pulpit and the press, against those in England whose sentiments were not in every respect agreeable to their own.

The whole tone and tenour of the document are fitted to convey an unfavourable impression of the measures adopted by the covenanters, and to chime in to a considerable extent with the favourite maxims of the party in power. It is true that the protesters, as a body, continued the stedfast adherents of the covenanted reformation ; but the above paper bears evidence, that although they had exhibited very strong charges against their brethren for yielding to the measures of the court, they did not all, in the hour of temptation, shew themselves entirely incorruptible by similar influences.

It was about the same time that James Guthrie published a pamphlet entitled " The Causes of God's Wrath against Scotland in his late sad dispensations." This production afterwards became more notorious by forming one of the articles of its author's indictment, and it is deserving of some notice, not only because Guthrie was a leading protester, but because it was considered as the joint manifesto of his party. The paper may be regarded as the Westland Remonstrance, republished with such alterations as were necessary for its adaptation to more recent occurrences, and for rendering it an address to the people in general, instead of the committee of estates in particular. Among the many steps of defection that are specified, particular notice is taken of the treatment which the Westland Remonstrance and the causes of humiliation published on different occasions had received—the passing of the public resolutions—the joining of many who had engaged in the covenant with malignants in the army, whose councils were conducive to their own purposes—and particularly " the prelimiting and corrupting of the General Assembly, in regard of the free, lawful, and right constitution thereof, excluding such as were faithful in the cause, and making it for the most part of those who had been active and instrumental in carrying on a course of defection, or were consenting thereto."

The serious and candid reader will admit that the paper is marked by profound piety and unsparing fidelity. There is appended to it a very ingenuous and particular acknowledgment of the sins of the ministry. The publication was very offensive to the opposite party, and particularly to the royalists, when it first appeared; and certain writers of the "moderate cast" have continued to condemn it in the strongest terms. But the opinions of such judges will not be sustained by impartial men, as sufficient evidence that the document is not replete with momentous truth. We may apply to Guthrie's tract the remark we made on the remonstrance. The seasonableness of the publication is more doubtful than its intrinsic qualities. As the public resolutions—the principal cause of division in the church, were now practically removed out of the way, by the suppression of the king's government, it became both parties to adopt every measure within their reach for the termination of their unhappy differences. But there was no becoming condescension on either side; and the controversy was prosecuted with the same bitterness, after the king was removed and all his malignant schemes frustrated, as when the royal faction were in power and in circumstances to dispute the sovereignty with Cromwell. The above paper was not fitted to soften the asperities of the opposition; and we do think the protesters would have acted a usefuller and better part, had they first employed every means in their power for the purpose of obtaining the settlement of peace with their brethren.

The English deputation, after spending nearly three months in Scotland, and having succeeded in obtaining a general submission to their proposals, returned in April. They had met with great opposition from the general aversion of the people. It was observed, that in many instances, and particularly in the Lothians, the royalists were the first that complied. But it was at length found by others to be impossible

to act, to any considerable extent, on the principle of resistance. The government ordained, "that before any person whatever could obtain any benefit or decreet in his favours, he behoved first to tender his acquiescence."¹ Many were exposed to considerable hardships on account of their connection with the invasion of England in 1648, or for being in the king's army at Worcester, either of which inferred forfeiture; and in many cases the law was carried into effect.

The clergy were particularly aggrieved on account of what was justly regarded an invasion of the ecclesiastical province. They were prohibited in the most peremptory terms from imposing any oath, or from forming any covenant, without express permission from the English parliament. Such as were excommunicated were now protected from the civil consequences which had formerly ensued upon censure, and which, if justifiable in any case, were certainly very liable to abuse; it being enacted that no civil officer "molest the persons or estates of the excommunicated, or prevent others from trading and using the common intercourse of life with them."² It must be owned there were faults on both sides. In some parishes, the clergy carried their attachment to the cause of the king, so far as to exclude from the communion of the church, all who had directly acknowledged the authority of the English. Such unwarrantable stretches of spiritual power could not fail to provoke retaliation; and in all probability they rendered the conquerors more stern to the presbyterians than they would otherwise have been.

In presbyteries and synods, the parties into which the church was now unfortunately divided, maintained the contest with various success, according to the superiority or deficiency of their comparative strength. The principle involved in the public resolutions had now become fixed as a standing subject

¹ Lamont's Diary, p. 46.

² Ibid. p. 47.

of controversy. The warrantableness of Christians forming martial alliances with heretics and heathens, had been called in question, before the public measures which produced the schism in the church were framed. The doctrine of the protesters upon the subject is clearly stated by Mr George Gillespie, in connection with his testimony against the duke of Hamilton's invasion of England in 1648. In a pamphlet, entitled "An Useful Case of Conscience discussed and resolved, concerning associations and confederacies with idolaters, or any other enemies to truth and godliness," he discussed the question; and, decidedly supporting the negative, he endeavours to prove his doctrine by a number of passages in the Old Testament, by which the people of Israel were expressly prohibited from forming military confederacies with the heathen. "As for a confederacy engaging us into a war with such associates, it is absolutely, and in its own nature, unlawful; and I find it condemned by good writers, both of the popish, of the Lutheran, and of the orthodox party." "*The battle is not ours, but the Lord's*. Now, how shall we employ them that hate the Lord? or how shall the enemies of the Lord's glory do for his glory? Shall rebels and traitors be taken to fight in the king's wars? Offer it to thy governor, as it is said, and see if he would accept it?"¹

The same subject was discussed more copiously in its connection with the public resolutions, by Mr Hugh Binning, in a publication, with nearly the same title as Gillespie's, in which it is very strongly maintained that the admission of malignants is contrary to scripture, and a flat contradiction of former engagements. Binning was a young man of uncommon promise, and his death, which happened in 1653, before he had completed his twenty-fifth year, must

¹ Gillespie's Useful Case of Conscience, p. 10, 11.

have been an unspeakable loss to the protesters and to the public cause of religion.¹

The pamphleting part of the contest was much more pleasant than the personal collisions which were constantly occurring in the course of their official procedure. The controversy was agitated with the utmost violence in presbyteries and synods, in pulpits, and in party meetings ; but the General Assembly was regarded as the grand arena, and its ensuing meeting was contemplated with deep interest by all parties. From the state of the public mind, and the strong disaffection subsisting between the prevailing party in the church and the new government, there was good cause for apprehension that the Assembly might be exposed to some interruption. The soldiers were now accustomed to menace such ministers as prayed for the king, and for their friends and brethren imprisoned in England ; and they presumed in various ways to evince their displeasure with such parts of the public service as were not performed agreeably to their ideas of propriety in the church. A few of the ministers were arrested on their way to the Assembly by a band of these military censors, and subjected to a fine of forty shillings sterling, for travelling on the sabbath-day.²

¹ "An Useful Case of Conscience, learnedly and accurately discussed and resolved," &c. A late writer maintains that this pamphlet was not written by Binning. "Binning," he says, "died in the year 1653, and this pamphlet was not published till 1693 ; and while presumptive evidence against its authenticity is afforded by the circumstances, that neither the publisher's nor printer's name is subjoined, nor even the place of publication, its contents and language seem to be at variance with both the character and sentiments of Binning, as exhibited in his genuine productions, and more especially in his *Treatise of Christian Love*."—*Life of Binning, prefixed to Edition of his Works, by James Cochrane A.M.* p. 21. But, though the tract may have been interpolated, this is no sufficient evidence that it is falsely ascribed to Binning.

² Lamont's Diary, 54.

The General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 21st day of July 1652, and Mr David Dickson was chosen moderator. The great engrossing question that demanded the attention of this meeting, was the controversy in the church. Agreeably to the instructions of last Assembly, commissioners had been appointed on the same exclusive principle that had been practised the former year. In many instances the elections were contested with great keenness, the unsuccessful party entering the strongest protestation against the procedure of their opponents.

The conflict began by the protesters presenting a representation subscribed by Andrew Cant, "in name of many ministers, elders, and professors through the land, who desire truth and peace." In this paper, they deplore the state of the church under the unhappy divisions that had lately taken place, lament the failure of several attempts made for the restoration of unity, and consider present circumstances as favourable for the renewal of negotiations for peace. "If we look before us it seems there is now a wide door open for the conjunction with all parties, in case of straits and necessities. How subtle are the devices of Satan to make use of the same bad principle for contrary ends! and may we not make use of what was said in former times to the declining children of this church? How will posterity blame us that we have not resisted the beginnings of evil? Shall not their hearts mourn when they behold so fair a fabric, so dearly conquest, so firmly grounded, to be pitifully ruined by their fathers?" The paper dilates on the baneful effects of recent measures, and deals in severe strokes at unfaithful ministers. "We wish there were not amongst us insufficient and scandalous ministers, who make a sanctuary of the public resolutions. What acts are made against expectants, students, and professors, who are not of this mind, we desire may be remembered; and we have to regret that too many make it their practice, upon this

ground, to debar such as would be useful in the Lord's vineyard." After representing the conduct of their opponents as overbearing and oppressive, they expostulate on the necessity of considering their ways, and insist that, being now delivered from the temptations to which they were formerly exposed, they should retrace their steps. "You are now freed from the temptations which induced many to act and concur in these resolutions; for necessity was mainly pretended for what was done; which, now these temptations being removed, can have no place for a ground to renew and react the same proceedings." After stating some of the great evils that would necessarily result from the assumption of the powers of the Assembly, and the ratification of the proceedings of last meeting at St Andrews and Dundee, the paper suggests the propriety of delay, and of appointing a conference for the discussion of their differences, and for devising the best remedies. For these purposes a number of propositions are appended as proper topics of discussion in a conference.

These propositions, eight in number, embody the different subjects respecting which the two parties were at issue. One of them contains an enquiry respecting the best way of securing the work of God against dangers from malignants, and also the characteristics by which such persons may be known and judged. The most of them respect the purity of communion,—one of the consequences of the public resolutions being an influx of all characters into the church. It had become common to make mock professions of religion,—men of rank giving the example; and although the form of discipline was generally observed, the ends of it were in a great measure defeated. On these accounts many good people were seriously aggrieved, and the subject was proposed for consideration in different propositions, as it respected ministers, elders, and private members of the church. The last of the propositions requests inquiry into the

best means of avoiding the evil consequences of the late (pretended) meeting at St Andrews and Dundee, and of preserving the right constitution of free General Assemblies in time to come.

The paper is pervaded with pious sentiment, and laudable zeal for the purity and peace of the church; but such was the temper of parties, that its most sanguine subscribers could scarcely expect that its proposals would be for a moment entertained. The Assembly was not yet constituted; but had they listened to a minority with whom they were already at great variance, so as to desist from meeting as a court, the example would have stood unparalleled in the annals of any church. Before the Assembly proceeded, the opponents, in addition to the above mentioned paper, offered a solemn protestation against the constitution of the court and the validity of every part of its proceedings. "And herein," say they, "we have the approbation of the first and second Assembly of this kirk in the beginning of the last reformation; the one annulling and declaring void six several Assemblies, upon many of the same grounds for which we do protest against the present corrupt Assemblies; and the other, having clearly determined the keeping and authorizing corrupt Assemblies to have been one of the chief causes of all the evils that have befallen this church." The reasons of their protest were embodied in their former testimonies against defections, and are as follows: That their meeting was appointed by a corrupt Assembly, which had no legitimate powers; that it was composed generally of the same members with the former, who had been active in promoting defection in the church; that its members were not freely chosen, in consequence of injunctions from the last Assembly to synods and presbyteries to exclude all that had condemned the public resolutions, or who refused to acquiesce in the proceedings of last Assembly; that many of the presbyteries had refused to

send up commissioners, that the burghs were not in a capacity to do so, and that the great majority of religious persons in the country concurred in the propriety of opposing the present meeting. The protest was subscribed by sixty-seven ministers, eighty-five elders, and others; and the two papers were presented by thirty-five members, including Messrs Andrew Cant, Samuel Rutherford, John Livingston, James Guthrie, Lord Kirkcudbright, Sir Andrew Ker, Sir Archibald Johnston, Sir John Chiesly, with other respectable and influential persons.

The Assembly, though they refused to listen to the applications of their opponents, did not proceed with such a high hand against them as they had formerly done. It is probable that their recent decline in the favour of government, as well as the very formidable aspect now presented by their opponents, had tended to lower their tone; and they may have felt secret misgivings, as to the propriety of inflicting such high censures on some of their number. Accordingly, instead of directly prosecuting the course of severity commenced at their former meeting, after considering the representation and petition now presented to them, they paused, and appointed a committee to confer with their brethren, for the purpose of arresting a schism, the progress of which was so perilous to the church. The protesters also appointed a committee to meet with that of the Assembly; and both were furnished with particular instructions for the regulation of their conduct. The commissioners of the Assembly were authorized to offer the following terms: "That the four brethren who, by the preceding General Assembly at St Andrews and Dundee, were, upon special considerations, justly censured for protesting against, and declining the authority thereof, shall have the censure inflicted on them by that Assembly taken off; and further, that no censure shall be inflicted for their protesting against, and declining of, this present General Assem-

bly ; providing that they do pass from the two said protestations and declinatures of the two said General Assemblies, judicially under their hand, between the present date and the second Wednesday of November ensuing, in their several synods and presbyteries respectively ; that they also give assurance, in manner foresaid, that they shall forbear holding up divisions by debates about late differences, in preaching, writing, or any otherwise." It was also promised, on the same conditions, that all who had joined in the protestation against the foresaid Assembly, and had not been censured, shall be free from all censure which might be justly inflicted upon them for the said cause.¹

The terms offered by the protesters were equally definite. Their commissioners were instructed to inform the brethren that they did not recognize them as commissioners appointed by a General Assembly, but as sent by a meeting of ministers and elders, having no judicial authority ;—that the proposals of the brethren be given in in writing, as the mind of the meeting of which they are members, in order that it may be answered by the whole meeting of the opposition ;—that they were not to confer first about the censures which were of subordinate importance ; they must discuss matters of greater moment—the causes of God's wrath with the land, the proper remedies of past defections, and the best preventives of similar evils in future, with the means of securing the establishment and promotion of the work of reformation. The conference must discuss the whole subjects of the propositions embodied in the representation given in at the commencement of the present meeting ; what is their sense and meaning of the public resolutions, and of the constitution, acts, and proceedings of the meeting last year at Dundee, and of the present meeting at Edinburgh, and what are their inten-

¹Acts and Overtures for the peace of the Kirk, p. 4.

tions in regard to the same ; and unless satisfaction be obtained on these heads, the commissioners were to inform the brethren that their offers were altogether unsatisfactory, and they were to protest that, as " we have sought peace and pursued it by all lawful and possible means on our part, so we are henceforth free from the guilt of procuring any of the lamentable effects of the present schism."

The stringency of these instructions to both committees, were such as nearly superseded the necessity or the propriety of their entering seriously into any lengthened conferences. The manner in which the terms of agreement were proffered upon both sides, amounted to a demonstration that the parties were equally destitute of the dispositions which characterize the peace-makers in Zion. Since the party whose interests depended upon the public resolutions was now so greatly depressed, that these resolutions were no longer of any immediate service to them, it might well be supposed that the contest concerning them would have ceased; but when both parties remained as intent and tenacious on the subject as ever, the prospect of union was in the mean time utterly desperate. It is common to vindicate the resolutioners, and even to extol their moderation; while the other party are branded as obstinate schismatics, whom no forbearance could win over, and no concessions would satisfy. But without pledging himself to defend all the propositions of the protesters, or to justify all their measures, the candid and discriminating surveyor of this controversy, will hesitate to impute all the blame to one side. No doubt the Assembly offered to remove the censures, but this was to be conceded as an act of grace; for it was at the same time declared, that "they were upon special consideration justly censured," and they were to be removed on the express condition of the protesters virtually condemning all they had done in contending for what they believed to be necessary

for the safety and purity of the house of God. Both parties proclaimed loudly their love of peace; but they were certainly very unhappy in the means they adopted, and in the temper they displayed, while seeking the desirable attainment.

On the failure of the conference, the General Assembly published the terms of union that had been proffered by their commissioners in the form of an act, and ordained, "the several synods or presbyteries of this kirk to present this offer with the provisions therein contained, unto all such persons as are before mentioned within their bounds respectively; and in case the plurality in any presbyteries or synods shall refuse to propound the same, the Assembly doth warrant such brethren as acknowledge the authority of these Assemblies, to propound them." And having reported their progress to the commission, they were to proceed in a manner the most conducive to the interests of truth and peace.

A virtual separation had for some time been in progress betwixt the two parties. While the one called themselves the General Assembly, and claimed for their decisions all the authority which the highest ecclesiastical court could confer; the other, without assuming the same high pretensions, did what may be considered as almost equivalent. They met, had their president and committees for the arrangement and simplification of business; they deliberated upon and decided matters relating to the church in general, as well as to particular congregations. "The meeting of the protesters did divide themselves into four several committees, to think upon and confer about overtures, how to make the matter of their propositions practicable and effectual in their own stations, according to their capacities." And the clerks having conjoined their reports into one paper, the whole was shewn to the general meeting; whereby," said they, "it appears that they do

really and seriously mind the work themselves, which they proposed to others."¹

The failure of negotiations for union betwixt parties that are so nearly agreed, not only on the doctrines of the gospel, but on the articles of ecclesiastical polity, as the protesters and resolutioners were, is generally followed by an increased acrimony of mutual recrimination. Conscious that the continuance of division is a great evil, each party becomes anxious to escape from the odium by flinging it at the other. Thus the breach becomes wider and wider, and the original causes of controversy are greatly aggravated. Such was manifestly the effect of the communications betwixt the resolutioners and protesters at this time. Both parties were unquestionably very blameable, but they were equally strong in self-vindication, and vehement in stigmatizing their brethren, through pamphlets, sermons, and the other channels of ecclesiastical communication. The controversy swelled and became more sweeping than ever.

The most of the proceedings of the General Assembly respected the unhappy controversy. Various acts were passed for the purposes of justifying their own conduct, and of securing and promoting the interests of their own party. In an act respecting the admission of "expectants to their trials, and the appointment of ruling elders to act in presbyteries and synods," it was ordained, that no one who had joined in the protestations against the Assemblies at Dundee and Edinburgh, be admitted until he pass from his protestation, and give assurance that he shall abstain from debates and controversies on the points contested in the church since the year 1650. And in order to repel the charge of laxity of discipline which the protesters preferred against them, an act was

¹ Appendix to the Protestation of Ministers, &c. July 21, 1652.

passed for the purpose of "putting in execution former acts and constitutions of General Assemblies, anent trying, admitting, removing, and deposing of church officers, censuring of scandalous persons, receiving of penitents, and debarring of persons from the Lord's table." In the main, this is unquestionably a very admirable act, and it is worthy of the General Assembly in its best constituted and most efficient days. It inculcates in impressive terms upon the subordinate courts the most vigilant and active endeavours for the purity of the church, and particularly for admitting none to the ministry, but men of decided piety and of other approved qualifications. It is equally strict in regard to the elders. Sessions were prohibited from admitting any but such as possessed the character and knowledge of religion and of their office, so essential to efficiency in all invested with the eldership. "If any elder be found negligent of the duties of his charge, and continue so after admonition, or scandalous in his life and conversation, or live a neglecter of the worship of God in his family, he is to be removed from and purged out of the session." A corresponding fidelity was enjoined in admitting persons to the communion of the church. Still, the act bears the impress of the peculiar party spirit that characterized its authors. It is most particularly levelled against ministers that presume to preach after being deposed; and there can be no doubt that this was aimed at Gillespie and those deposed along with him at Dundee.

On the last day of their meeting, the Assembly published a declaration, complaining of the protesters for emitting "many grievous and unjust aspersions against them;" they gave some account of the unsuccessful conference for union, and called upon all who loved the prosperity and "peace of this afflicted kirk, that by your counsel, conference, and all other godly means, so many as in your bounds, ministers or others, are upon this divisive way which tendeth so

much to the hinderance of the work of reformation and peace of the Lord's distressed people, may be timeously reclaimed, and moved to accept the peaceable offer made to them by the General Assembly, and the rest within your bounds may be kept from this uncouth separation."

On the other side, the protesters, to save themselves from the reproach of rejecting what the Assembly called a "peaceable offer," published with all expedition their "Reasons for refusing to accept the overtures made to them at the conference upon the 28th and 29th of July 1652." This publication expresses their great disappointment and deep grief on account of the continuance of the lamentable division, complains of the Assembly's proposals, and of their manner of treating with them, as any thing but satisfactory; and then states their reasons of refusal as a vindication of their conduct. They could not accede to the proposals of the Assembly, because they contained no remedy for the general defection produced by the public resolutions, and made no provision for preventing the recurrence of the same evils; while on their part they were not only called to retract all their former opposition, but to engage to desist in future from stating any objections to the late proceedings; because they were required by the said proposals to acknowledge the lawfulness and freedom of General Assemblies, which, on sufficient grounds, they had condemned as unlawful and corrupt; because the acts made against the protesters remain unrepealed, and ready to be carried into effect against all who do not comply with the proposals of union; and because they afford no satisfaction for the injury done to the public cause, but merely promise upon conditions to remove the censures. To accept such proposals would be to prefer personal and private interests to the things of God, and the general good; and they (the protesters) could not see how they could acquiesce in the proposed terms without thereby doing what

amount to an acknowledgement that they had sinned in opposing the public resolutions, while they are convinced that their opposition was a duty which they were bound by the highest obligations to discharge.

The pamphlets circulated by both sections of the church, at this period, display the pertinacious adherence of each to its peculiar views; and they are pervaded by specious reasonings, accompanied with solemn professions, grievous complaints, and bitter recriminations. Of these we shall notice one, by way of specimen of this painful controversy. The protestation against the late General Assembly was reviewed by a member of court. This writer represents the opposition manifested by the opponents as in its every step fitted to promote the design of their grand adversary, and particularly the last "and highest, their unparalleled practice (except that of the perfidious prelates) of absolutely declining the authority of the General Assembly, and protesting against it as null; and so, at one stroke, throwing down the hedge of discipline of this kirk, and making way for every beast of the forest to creep in, and that upon such frivolous and false grounds, as maketh the authority of all the Assemblies of this kirk, since the begun reformation, to be called in question upon the same or like pretences." He goes on to accuse the protesters of presumption for speaking as if the most of the godly in that land were with them, while he claims for his own party the great share of the experience and high attainments to be found in the church. The charges of prelimiting and corrupting the Assemblies he repels in the following terms: "Is a future Assembly prelimited because a prior determined the qualifications of its members? Was the parliament 1649 prelimited and unfree because the committee of estates excluded therefrom all that sat and voiced in the former? Or the Assembly at Glasgow, because the Tables appointed and laid down

a way who should be elected thereto, and who not? Or all future Assemblies, because that of Glasgow excludeth from them all who shall not take the national covenant? Whither doth this passion lead them? To plead the episcopal cause. Besides, did not the letter in the commission, in May last, require of presbyteries to choose faithful and honest men?"¹ The reviewer proceeds to contend, that although the act of Dundee required synods and presbyteries to proceed in censuring all opposed to the public resolutions, yet none were actually censured; all were allowed to vote in electing members of Assembly; and if electors, might they not have been elected?

The above is a specimen of the reasonings employed by the members of Assembly in vindication of their conduct. It does not require much discrimination to perceive that the most of the cases adduced as precedents are utterly irrelevant, and that what is stated respecting the commission's innocence of the interference charged against them is not consistent with truth. The pamphlet is written with an air of triumph; yet the author is unable to conceal that temper which is produced by the pressure of an opponent, and which is to be regarded as indicating either a weak mind or a bad cause.

The English parliament was at this time very much engrossed with the Dutch war. The states of Holland, by their countenance to the English royalists, and by their tardiness in the execution of justice upon those concerned in the murder of Dorislaus, had rendered themselves very obnoxious to the republican parliament. On the death of the prince of Orange, it was expected that the Dutch would have been disposed to form a more intimate alliance with England, and they had received suggestions for their encouragement from St John, the British ambassador. But the advances of the proud Englishman were re-

¹ The Protestation Reviewed and Refuted, p. 18.

ceived so coldly, that, burning with resentment, he returned, and was successful in fomenting the displeasure of his country to a determination for war. To bring the quarrel to a crisis, a navigation act was passed, prohibiting all ships from importing into England any commodity which was not the produce of their own country. The law was evidently levelled at the Dutch, whose principal trade consisted in being the carriers and agents of Europe. The immediate consequences of this act was an attempt on the part of the Dutch to set it at defiance, and the capture of a number of their vessels by the British. Both kingdoms embarked with the utmost avidity in a naval expedition for the decision of the contest; and formidable fleets were committed to the direction of very distinguished admirals. But the English, by a series of very brilliant successes, at length reduced the Dutch to the necessity of making advances for peace; and rendered the British flag no less respected at sea than their standard had become by land.

It is not improbable that the parliament intended by this war not only to inflict condign castigation on the states, but to diminish the power of Cromwell by draining the national resources from the army to the navy, and by shewing that the national greatness did not depend merely upon the heroism of that remarkable man. But they could not conceal their intentions from the penetration of his vigilant eye. In spite of all their endeavours to subvert him, he retained his influence, so that the whole movements of the kingdom, civil and ecclesiastical, were in a manner subject to his control. His power in most of the other institutions had become nearly as great as in the army; and although a remnant of the royalists, and not a few presbyterians in England and Scotland, still resisted all his endeavours to convert them to his interest, they now formed no considerable obstacle to his measures.

The English universities had already been remodelled so as to meet the approbation of the existing authorities. A number of obnoxious members were removed, and their places filled by others, the most of whom were distinguished among the secretaries; and various other changes were effected, for the professed purpose of rendering the educational system more efficient.

A similar course was now followed in Scotland. In the month of September 1652, the university of St Andrews was visited by an English deputation; but the professors, being strongly attached to the cause of the crown and of the presbyterian church, were extremely disposed to dispute the authority of the commissioners, and reluctant to answer the questions. After making various inquiries, the deputation gave orders to fill up no vacancy in the university before giving them information. They next proceeded to Aberdeen, where they not only examined into the state of affairs, but actually removed principal Guild and appointed Mr John Row in his room. They acted a similar part in the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, promoting Mr Robert Leighton to the highest office in the former, and Mr Patrick Gillespie in the latter.

The same commission was invested with extensive powers in reference to the civil affairs of the church; and, accordingly, the men that were most subservient to the existing authorities were generally preferred. The protesters, being more opposed to the king, and to the admission of malignants to any share in the management of public affairs, or in the defence of the kingdom, were very frequently preferred to the resolutioners. Hence the bitter complaints of Baillie and other resolutioners, of "the colleges being quickly undone," and of "the churches being in the utmost confusion." The English commissioners would not ratify a title to the stipend, until the intrant had subscribed some acknowledgment of submission to the

government. And those clergy who were attached to the royalists complained of the most glaring partiality to their opponents. "When," says Baillie, "a very few of the remonstrants and independent party will call a man, he gets the kirk and the stipend; but whom the presbytery and well near the whole congregation call and admit, he must preach in the fields or in a barn without stipend. So a sectary is now planted in Kilbride, another in Lenzie, and this guyse will grow rife to the wrack of many a soul."¹ The statements of Baillie on this subject ought not, however, to be received without considerable abatements. Belonging to the party very lately in power, but now deprived of state favour, and greatly mortified in consequence of their defeats, he is very jealous of his more favoured opponents; he exaggerates their defects and the partiality of government to them, while he omits to notice much that was really commendable. It is impossible to justify violent settlements of ministers, even where the object is good; but the interference of the English with settlements at this time was not more invidious than that of the royalists had been; the spiritual interests of parishes were better consulted by the former than they had been by the latter; and there can be no doubt that the king would have followed up his measures in aid of the resolutioners against the protesters with no less eagerness than the professed patrons of liberty could employ for the promotion of their party. None are more vehement in their invectives against the partialities of state patronage than those who, after a temporary enjoyment of the privilege, have witnessed its transference to the side of their opponents.

There is one characteristic of the sectarianism of this period which must be rather startling to the admirers of the independent and voluntary churches in the present day. Nothing is more revolting to the

¹ Baillie's Letters, ii. 371.

high-flown liberals of the nineteenth century than the civil establishment of Christianity, and particularly the acceptance of endowments from the state. Such an alliance is denounced as spiritual whoredom,—an abomination sufficient to write Ichabod upon any church polluted by it. But it was at this time not uncommon for independents in England, and also in Scotland, to accept of endowments from the state, and, without a scruple, to enjoy the comforts of the manse and the other conveniences connected with such a temporal independence.

Upon the whole, it is evident, from a concurrence of testimony, that the government generally manifested a laudable concern for the efficiency of ministers, although the principles upon which it acted were of the loosest description. Provided they would preach the leading truths of the gospel, and not dispute his authority, Cromwell did not care whether they were presbyterians or independents, or by what designation they were known. The frequent annoyances to which presbyterians were subjected were more in consequence of their politics than their religious profession. They persisted in praying for the king, and in not merely withholding their consent from the present government, but in various ways condemning and contending against it, and it was on these grounds that they were exposed to the molestation of soldiers, and the prosecution of magistrates.

The engagement to submit to government, now demanded of presbyterians, had formerly created a considerable sensation in England.¹ We have before us a pamphlet published in the year 1650, and entitled “a Plea for Nonsubscribers, or the grounds and reasons of many Ministers in Cheshire, Lanca-

¹ The engagement referred to is expressed in the following terms :—“I do declare and promise that I will be true and faithful to the commonwealth of England, as it is now established, without a king or house of lords.”

shire, and the parts adjoining, for their refusal of the late engagement, modestly propounded either for receiving satisfaction (which they much desire), or of indemnity till satisfaction be laid before them, (which they cannot but expect)." In this curious pamphlet the subject is discussed with the utmost freedom, and the most unflinching fidelity; and as the arguments may be regarded as nearly the same that were afterwards employed by their brethren in Scotland, a specimen of them may conduce to the elucidation of this part of our history. "The divinity we have learned forbids a judge to determine a possession wrongfully seized to continue so; a lawyer to be advocate for an unjust cause; a soldier to bear arms in a wrong quarrel; a mariner to transport purloined merchandize; a householder to receive, harbour, and conceal stolen goods; neither doth any invasion of the right of others, or transgression of the rule of justice, seem to us any whit more allowable, or participable in public or national interest than in private and personal; but rather the more detestable and intolerable, by how much it is in a higher and more extensive degree. Whosoever suffereth loss or injury by those men's thrusting into and keeping the seat of authority, we should bind ourselves (by subscribing the engagement) to be their spoilers and oppressors by continuing their wrongs; whereas those engaged *to have ploughed upon their backs*, we should come after them and draw out or lengthen their furrows." The conduct of the English parliament, supported by the army in overturning the government, is compared with, and declared to surpass in enormity that of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, in rebelling against the government of Israel. "The text saith, that party which rose up before Moses and contested with him to wrest his authority, in whole or in part, out of his hand, were two hundred and fifty princes in the assembly, famous in the congregation, men of renown. What more could be

said of any minor part of the house of commons ?”¹ Such was the manner in which the undaunted presbyterians of England defended their refusal to acknowledge the usurped authority of the republican parliament.

But the law requiring such a formal engagement, was by no means very vigorously enforced either in England or in Scotland. Very few were subjected to civil pains for a simple refusal ; and in the whole compass of history there is perhaps scarce an example of such a stern government shewing so much forbearance with clerical opposition as that of Cromwell, now extended to the presbyterians. On some occasions the military chaplains vainly displayed their powers of debate on various topics against ministers of the less privileged order. Mr Wood, of St Andrew's, was engaged two days at Cupar, in debating with one Brown, an Englishman, and a preacher to Fairfax's regiment of foot. The following is a specimen of the questions discussed :—“ What punishment did Adam bring upon himself by his fall ?” Brown affirmed temporal death only ; and Wood maintained both temporal and eternal death. While the chaplain took his stand on the expression, “ In the day thou eatest thereof thou shall surely die ;” the minister replied, that was a part but not the whole of his punishment, for “ by nature we are children of wrath.” Brown rejoined, that by wrath, is meant a temporal wrath only. Another subject was the often-contested point of redemption, considered as universal or particular. Brown maintained that Christ died for all men, and supported his thesis from the words of the apostle, “ that he by the grace of God should taste death for every man.” But Wood shewed that the original term does not signify every one, but *all* in such a sense as must be qualified by circumstances. Brown, advancing to another subject, called his op-

¹ Plea for Non-subscribers, printed 1650, pp. 10—23.

ponent to defend his principles concerning justification, and maintained that pardon of sin may be received without faith. It was generally admitted that Wood was more than a match for him; but after spending much time to little purpose, he acknowledged that he was "spent up;" upon which, Brown, with an air of triumph, cried for some other "to take it up now." Mr Andrew Honeyman answered, that "the Lord had plenty of his servants there, and through the land, to defend his truth, but that they would do nothing without a call."¹

Brown's orthodoxy and general bearing, as shewn by the above debate, if a fair specimen of these military chaplains, are certainly not fitted to produce strong impressions in their favour. But when the wild opinions entertained and industriously propagated by the sectarians, then countenanced by government, are taken into account, it will appear surprising that the appointments to universities and parishes were in general made in a manner so much fitted to promote the interests of literature and religion. The powers with which the English commissioners were invested to judge in ecclesiastical affairs, and particularly to determine the qualifications of ministers, removing such as they found inefficient, and giving orders for the induction of others, being incompatible with the independence of the church, were equally displeasing to the resolutioners and to the protesters. Such erastian encroachments by a government making no ordinary pretensions to liberality, are among the glaring inconsistencies of this period, and they impressively admonish posterity of the delusion of believing that despotism is peculiar to monarchy in the state, or to a hierarchy in the church.

While both parties in the church were managing the contest with increasing ardour, the time arrived for the meeting of the commission of the General As-

¹ Lamont's Diary, p. 59.

sembly. And in order to lose no opportunity of pleading their cause, the protesters prepared a paper entitled, "Declaration of ministers and elders against the lawfulness of the Assembly, 1651." It is addressed to the "right reverend the ministers and elders met at Edinburgh, the 24th November, 1652." After grievous complaints and lamentations of the disregard shewn to former remonstrances, and means taken to defeat the most peaceable measures, they still profess the most earnest desire for union, and for this purpose they presented the following impressive request to their brethren. "We do earnestly beseech you by the love you bear to the peace of this church, and by your desires to heal the breaches thereof, that you will presently declare that you forbear all acting as commissioners of a General Assembly, so long as endeavours and conferences for union shall continue, (as upon your condescendence we do hereby declare the like concerning the commission of the General Assembly, 1650.)" The protesters in like manner requested their brethren to interpose, for the purpose of preventing synods and presbyteries from carrying into effect the censures awarded against those that had protested against the two last Assemblies. The paper closes with a threat:—"if the motion be not hearkened to, we cannot forbear to warn you, that we shall be constrained to vindicate ourselves and others from such persecution and usurpation, by the use of all lawful means for our defence, and for the preservation of the truth and liberties of this church."

It will appear to the reader that two prominent grounds of controversy now subsisted between the protesters and resolutioners. In addition to the public resolutions, the primary and principal topic of contest, there was the lawfulness of the constitution and the validity of the proceedings of the two last Assemblies; and it is difficult to determine which of these subjects proved more insurmountable to all their ne-

gociations for peace. They were viewed by both parties as involving principles of great importance ; and the manner in which they were contested is truly lamentable. Every movement, although made with professed aspirations after peace, seems only to have widened the breach, and to have rendered its repair the more hopeless. The protesters, by pamphlets and every possible means of publicity, strenuously asserted the nullity of the Assemblies ; and the resolutioners were equally determined in their endeavours to support the validity of these meetings, and to secure for them the acknowledgment generally conceded to the supreme ecclesiastical court in the kingdom. Accordingly this party contrived as far as possible, in their communications with their brethren, to word their papers, and make their proposals in such a form, as, if answered at all, required either some acknowledgment of the authority of the meetings in dispute, or an express declaration against them. This is very manifest from the answer which the commission returned to the above-mentioned paper of the protesters.

In answer to the request not to assume the powers of the commission, the persons met for that purpose commenced in the following terms, which shew how far they were disposed to comply. “ *The commission of the General Assembly*, having received a paper upon the 14th instant presented to them by my lord Warriston, Mr Robert Trail, &c., and subscribed by Samuel Rutherford, in name of some ministers, elders, and professors met at Edinburgh, upon the 11th of November, and having taken the same into serious consideration, return this answer thereunto.” This paper, while it professes to give the protesters credit for the sincerity of their desires, in seeking the restoration of harmony, directly charges them with all the disturbances that had taken place, and arrogates to the resolutioners every thing laudable, conciliatory, and Christian. To shew their forbearance, they of-

ferred to delay the infliction of censure upon such as they had found liable to it, till the third Wednesday of February, telling them, "we are content and willing that betwixt and the day foresaid, there be a meeting at a time to be appointed before our parting hence, betwixt some of us, and some of our dissenting brethren, in such a number and such a way as shall be most convenient, considering the case of the time for holding forth to them, so far as we can, and the Lord shall assist us, with light in the matters of difference, &c." In the end it is affirmed, "that we are confident that this commission, and the other late public judicatories, having a call, and being constituted according to the order of God, and constitutions of his kirk, are very far from usurpation; and that both the by-past carriage of the respective judicatories doth clear them, and our carriage shall clear us before God and the world, from that grievous aspersion of persecution, the uncharitableness and injustice of which we heartily pardon, and pray the Lord to pardon in our brethren."

The commission appointed Messrs Robert Blair, James Wood, David Forrest, Andrew Honeyman, and the moderator, David Dickson, should the state of his health permit, to hold a conference at St Andrews, on the first Wednesday of January, with any of the dissenting brethren that might be appointed to meet with them, for the discussion of the particulars expressed in the answer to their paper. And then, without waiting for any other communication from the protesters, the commission was dissolved.

As might have been anticipated, the above-mentioned communication considerably aggravated the grievances of those to whom it was addressed; and on receiving it they returned an answer to that effect, at the same time intimating, from the committee that had been appointed for meeting with them, that "they were not instructed to call any meeting for conference in this case of so unsatisfactory an an-

swer."¹ Such was the issue of a correspondence which professed to seek the peace of the church, but was on both sides managed in such a spirit as could scarcely fail to fan the fire already kindled.

It is unnecessary to enter upon any particular consideration of what was then written for the purpose of vindicating or of condemning the conduct of either party. Were all the sections of the Christian church to act uniformly on similar principles, we should despair of ever realizing the blessed hope of a general union. The protesters had all along acted as the more faithful watchmen, and we ought to regard them as generally approving themselves to be the steadfast adherents of the cause of truth; but, in their charges and defences, it can scarcely be said that they never went too far, or that the ground that they occupied was always tenable. The Assemblies in question were certainly constituted in a very exceptionable manner, yet it must be owned that the protesters rather lowered the dignity of their cause by giving that part of the subject such a prominent and permanent place in their contendings. Were the authority of all Assemblies, in the appointment of whose commissioners some considerable defect might be detected, to be disclaimed, the business of the church could not go forward. Had the protesters shewn greater moderation on this point, they might still have maintained their principles in reference to the public resolutions, and both parties would have escaped from a great many of the difficulties in which they were involved. The resolutioners again, as they had been the original cause, continued to be the chief promoters of the lamentable schism. In this way they broke down the hedge of the vineyard of the Lord, exposed it to the ravages of wild beasts from the forest, and, pressed by the charges preferred against them by their more faithful brethren, acted

¹ Records of the Kirk of Scotland, p. 653.

most recklessly in their efforts to suppress the opposition they had excited.

The consequences of the late correspondence betwixt the protesters and resolutioners were, in many respects, as unseemly as their previous contendings. The state of matters in the church was much worse than if they had entirely separated, and erected themselves into distinct bodies. In that case they might have lived as neighbours, practising all the kind reciprocities of common life, and not proving a reproach to the religion of peace. But, connected as they were, their every movement was productive of clashes and collisions, eliciting much unhallowed fire that would otherwise have remained latent. It was the most mournful contest that had disturbed the peace of the presbyterian church since the reformation. In former cases the strife was between the true friends and the relentless foes of the public cause. The episcopalians of those days were, in principle and in practice, more nearly allied to the papists than to presbyterians, but, in the present unhappy controversy, there were not only excellent men but well-principled presbyterians on both sides. Among the resolutioners, indeed, there was still a portion of the old leaven, leavened in the days of Laud, which all the purifying processes of the second reformation had not purged out; but the leaders were in general men of the highest order for principles and for every excellence, and, did we not witness similar examples in our own time, we might wonder how it was possible for them to be separated from the protesters, who, with all their defects, were, as a body, the most distinguished in the land for piety, and for faithful attachment to the best of causes. But both parties were completely committed to courses, which crossed each other so frequently that the whole church was kept in continual conflict.

The proud and peevish manner in which their proceedings were issued at Edinburgh, was follow-

ed up in the same temper by their personal actings throughout the church, and by frequent skirmishes in presbyteries and synods. The one party blamed the other for resisting the progress of every healing measure, and the clamour of contention was deafening in all directions. In order to charge their opponents more directly, the resolutioners addressed them in a letter, dated February 1653, accusing them of "sighting and deserting the conference for union," and laying all the evils of a continued division to their account. Their plausible representations were industriously circulated, and there is reason to think that many superficial inquirers have been too much disposed to entertain them as well founded.

The communication was answered by a meeting of the protesters, in March, in a letter subscribed in their name by Mr Andrew Cant, and afterwards published in a small pamphlet. It contains very little which, if quoted, would contribute to the elucidation of the controversy. After the customary professions of peace, and a compend of the common objections to the resolutions, &c., they complain of gross misrepresentation, and retort the charges of deserting the lately proposed conference in the following terms:—"We do not a little wonder why it should be said that the conference for reconciliation and union was altogether deserted and slighted by us, when some of our number had carefully attended about three weeks for promoting the same, and were not at all advised with, nor so much as acknowledged by any answer at all, until after you had dissolved your meeting, and, when the answer was given, it was in effect a refusal of all our previous desires, without satisfaction to which you very well knew there could be no profit in conference." They also find fault with the general and ambiguous terms used by the resolutioners, in their late statements of the causes of the fasting. "We entreat you," they say, "not to look upon it

with a light eye that so many of the godly in the land cannot away with nor join in your fastings and humiliations, and that all the wicked and grossly profane in the land, (who have always hated, and do still hate the ordinances of God in their purity and power), do, with such a furious and carnal zeal, defend and maintain your humiliations, and carefully attend such diets and opportunities with delight and approbation, and yet do slight other occasions (even with yourselves) of worshipping the Lord.”¹

No time was lost in preparing a reply to the protesters’ letter, and it was soon published by “an Asserter of the authority of the General Assemblies of Dundee and Edinburgh.” This pamphlet is written with considerable ability. Some of its representations are very artful, and the charges it prefers are characterized with a boldness calculated to abash the opponents. Speaking of the protesters’ sentiments as unknown to the foreign churches, he says, “We desire to know if ever such tenets were vented for truths in any part of the Christian world, as that it is not lawful for the lawful magistrate to employ the body of his subjects for the land’s defence against an unjust invasion ; or that we may not be concurring, according to our place, unto the investing of any with the power of the magistracy, whatever otherwise be his right to it, until he give convincing signs of a real change.”¹

We do not profess to defend every statement of the protesters respecting the employment of none in defence of the country but men whose religious professions and practices were in accordance with the covenants and with the other qualifications then requisite in candidates for the public service ; but it is clear as day that the public resolutions committed the guardianship of the second reformation to its greatest enemies, and that all their promises and oaths to sup-

¹ Letter from the Protesters, with its answer, printed 1653, pp. 8, 9.

² Ibid.

port and defend the presbyterian establishment could not be satisfactory to the genuine friends of that cause, so long as the tenour of their previous conduct proved their malignancy to be as resolute and reckless as ever. It was no doubt a duty to defend the country, but the reformed religion had paramount claims upon them; and when they *exposed it* to the utmost peril for the purpose of fighting for a prince of the most unpromising character, they betrayed great folly and infatuation. While the "Asserter" represents the protesters as taking no part of the blame to themselves, and imputing all the evil to their opponents, he himself falls into the very same error. His common mode of defending his party from the defections of which they were accused is, by asserting that such evils were prevalent among the accusers. For example, the charge of neglecting discipline is retorted in the following terms: "We grant that the house of God ought to be purged, and that not only from men of scandalous lives, but also from dangerous and erroneous principles; but we are sorry that ye labour so much to fasten upon us the hindering of this so good a work; ye know the weakening of our authority makes purging work for the time very little useful; men are now taught, and ye know by whose example, to submit no farther unto church censures than seemeth good unto themselves." The pamphlet is concluded with a category of fourteen questions, conceived in the most haughty and uncompromising terms, only calculated to increase the flame in which the church was unhappily enveloped. "Do ye indeed conceive that ye can have no union with us until we obey the contents of your letter? If ye conceive so, we are at a point; we must either come over the belly of our light and call good evil, or else ye will not hear of peace. Seeing ye so much cry out against us for retarding the work of purging, how is it that ye do not cordially join and excite to the censuring of erroneous ministers, who

have avowedly spit upon their mother's face, and are daily stirring up others to do the like?"¹ But the mind sickens in dwelling so long upon a subject which reflects so little credit upon the memory of those involved in it, and the exhibition of which is so little fitted to promote the cause of Christianity among men.

The publications referred to are not so much the manifestoes of individuals as the recriminations of their parties; and although very partial, uncharitable, and destitute of every conciliatory characteristic, they did not form the worst feature of this controversy. The contention was far more unseemly as it frowned in the countenances, and fulminated in private contests, in public speeches, and even in sermons. What a disruption of social bonds, and how many selfish and sinister influences were employed for the unchristian purposes of party vindication, and covering those otherwise minded with shame and confusion! While the resolutioners observed a fast on two days in the end of March and beginning of April, the protesters refused to keep it because it had been appointed by the late commission, whose authority they would not acknowledge. When a parish became vacant there was very often an unseemly scramble betwixt parties, each endeavouring to plant it with one of their own mind respecting the public resolutions and the late disputed Assemblies. The protesters, supported by the favour of government, were very often successful; and hence the constant complaints, and the loud lamentations of the resolutioners under the mortifications arising from their defeats and disappointments.

In the month of March, 1653, Douglas, and the other members of Assembly, who had been detained for a considerable time in England, were allowed to return to their country. The arrival of these distin-

¹ Letter from the Protesters with an answer thereunto by an Asserter, &c., p. 28.

guished resolutioners was hailed by their party as a favourable omen for the redress of their grievances in the Assembly, to meet at Edinburgh on the 20th day of July. But when the time arrived their hopes were speedily dissipated by the interference of the English soldiers. For after sermon by Messrs Douglas and Dickson, the court being constituted, and before the reading of the roll had been finished, two lieutenant-colonels entered the house and demanded an audience. On this being granted, one of them asked the Assembly, by whose authority they had met? if by authority of the late parliament; or by the authority of the commander-in-chief of the forces; or if by the authority of the late king? It was then intimated by the moderator, that, in order to give a "modest answer" to the gentlemen, such as were not members of court should retire. The military officers next demanded a list of their names. They were informed that, if they would wait till the roll was called, it should be granted. With the officers' consent the moderator proceeded with the roll, but in a short time, interrupting him, they said they could wait no longer, and peremptorily ordered the Assembly "to remove and be gone;" adding, "that if they would not, they had instructions what to do." Before removing, the moderator, in name of the Assembly, protested that, as they were a court of Christ, they had a right, independently of the civil power, to meet at such a time and in such a place as might be found necessary; and then proceeding to close the meeting with prayer, he was obliged to "break off," by the unhallowed interference of the officers. On leaving the house, the members of the Assembly were surrounded by a party of soldiers, and obliged to march along with them to some distance out of the town, where, after producing a list of their names, and renewing their protest, they were discharged from meeting again, under the penalty of being treated as breakers of the peace.

They were even ordered to call for their horses, and remove immediately ; but, at the moderator's special request, permission was granted, on certain stringent terms, to remain in Edinburgh till next day, when they quietly left the city and returned to their homes.¹

Such forcible proceedings against an ecclesiastical court could be justified only on the ground of some flagrant breach of the peace, or of something connected with their proceedings calculated to subvert the government. But it is beyond all controversy, that in the present instance, there was nothing in the contemplation of the Assembly fitted to alarm the civil powers. The members had their own political opinions ; but they were now met for the management of the internal affairs of the church ; and the treatment to which they were subjected was at once a glaring infringement of their liberties, and a profane interference with their religion. To the Christian patriot it will appear the more censurable, as proceeding from men professing to teach the whole world the principles and the practice of genuine freedom. But while the civil powers were guilty of a reckless invasion of an ecclesiastical province, the dispersion of the Assembly did not prove so detrimental to the cause of religion, as it would have done in ordinary circumstances. The constitution of the court was corrupted ; it had been strongly condemned by a considerable and increasing minority still in the church ; and its continuance would, in all probability, have contributed to the progress of existing discord. The protesters had in vain endeavoured to prevent the procedure of two former Assemblies, and as they entertained the same objections to the third, it is probable, if they did not approve of the manner in which it was broken up, that they did not regret the occurrence of such an event.

There could therefore be now no dispute concern-

¹ Lamont's Diary, p. 70.

ing an existing Assembly, as that court remained proscribed for many years. But although the public resolutions, and General Assemblies, that had been the two great causes of ecclesiastical strife, were removed, the schism continued as great, and the animosity of parties as virulent as ever. They were still allowed to hold synods and presbyteries, and other meetings, for ecclesiastical business; and on such occasions both parties were unwearied in their endeavours to promote their peculiar objects. And although they never made such a formal separation as to declare themselves two distinct and independent churches, there was to all intents and purposes, a real division between them, embittered all the more by the anomalous relation in which they stood to each other.

The protesters had for a considerable time held conferences among themselves, not only for the management of their remonstrances, defences, and negotiations for peace; but even for purposes of discipline and judicial procedure. Dissatisfied with the reasons for fasting, published by the other party, they emitted acts of their own appointed days, and proceeded as possessing judicial authority. Pretending to derive power for meeting as a commission from the Assembly 1650, because there were among them a quorum of that court, they regarded their decisions as sufficiently valid and binding upon the people. It was in this capacity that they published the "Causes of God's Wrath" against the land, and corresponded with the synod of Lothian in the following year. Accordingly we find their proceedings in this matter severely animadverted on in a publication entitled "Some few Observations about the late differences in the Kirk of Scotland." The author complains that they had not merely protested against the Assembly, but arrogated ecclesiastical powers to themselves; and observes in reference to their commission: "If any thing can be, this is an usurpation upon the

liberties of the kirk, for men chosen with a delegate power till the next Assembly, when the time of it comes to cast the Assembly and judge their own deed, that it is well done, and sit in the chair; as they have now protested against two Assemblies, and kept their power near three years, may they not do the like for twenty years? This were indeed to make men perpetual bishops, and thrall the whole kirk to the will of a few; withal it cannot but be looked on as a great usurpation, that some of them being supposed guilty, and accountable to the General Assembly for it, they should cast the judicatory and sit down in their place."¹ In some instances, the protesters kept separate presbyteries, and to the utmost of their power exercised ecclesiastical authority in the district. Such was the state of matters at Stirling, and at other places where they were sufficiently numerous and active. In their endeavours to purge the church from scandalous and inefficient ministers, they gave the most offensive manifestations of their power. Their practice of discipline is represented by their opponents, as marked by the most glaring partiality and intolerable oppression. According to the protesters' sentiments, it was said to be a great scandal to belong to the resolutioners; but it has not been shewn, nor could it be proved that any were suspended or deposed simply on this ground. It was insufficiency for duty, or immorality, in connection with courses of defection, that formed the common causes of process, and called forth the censures inflicted.

Had their right of deposition, claimed by the protesters, included merely ecclesiastical censure, it would have been despised, as the authority that wielded it was declined. But the person deposed by them, being *ipso facto* deprived of his stipend, their power became very formidable to their opponents, as

¹ Printed in 1653, p. 30.

censures followed by civil pains always are ; and it would argue ignorance of human nature to maintain, that in the high temper of parties at this time, it was in no instance stretched to the extent of undue severity.

In most of the papers issued by the resolutioners, the writers affect to despise the numerical strength of their opponents, and nothing seems to have filled them with greater indignation, than their pretensions of having on their side the great amount of the piety of the country. They accordingly speak of them as an inconsiderable minority, and accuse them of arrogance and presumption for putting forward themselves as the godly of the land. At the same time, however, they betray great mortification at the countenance given to the ordinances dispensed by the protesters. It had been common to observe fasts upon the Sabbath days, and the resolutioners continued to do so, while their opponents appointed them on week days, and observed them with circumstances of striking solemnity. "Four or five of the best of their ministers were employed from morning to even." To their communions, which were conducted on a similar scale of longitude, strangers flocked from all quarters and from great distances ; and their public ministrations, conducted with much ardour and energy, were responded to in the deep interest and the devotional attitude of the people. The terms in which the resolutioners speak of these solemnities, remain an affecting proof of the power which prejudice and party spirit had exerted over them. "The sermons were," say they, "empty declamation, and the whole was got up for the increase of their party, whereof in most cases they missed."¹ This is scarcely consistent with another charge connected with it, viz., the exclusion from the sacramental table of nearly one half of the applicants.

¹ Baillie, ii. p. 372.

The preference given to the protesters by the civil powers being keenly felt by the resolutioners, powerfully stimulated their worst passions. And they still retained sufficient power for reprisals. They were far superior in numbers, and, as in most cases of a similar kind, the weight of wealth and local influence was in their favour. And hence it is that the protesters complained nearly as much of oppression from the royalists possessing landed property and influence, who were inflamed against them by the unfounded representations of their opponents, as the resolutioners complained of being overborne by civil authority.

The power of the English in the northern kingdom, although triumphant in the battle-field and at the council-board, was not so complete as to place them beyond the reality of danger from insurrections among the adherents of the old system. The number of these in the northern districts was very considerable, and it was well known that the king was ever anxious to give them all possible encouragement from abroad. It was therefore found necessary by the new government to observe their movements with a vigilant eye, and employ constant precautions. Before the conclusion of their session at Edinburgh, the judges emitted "a paper with the names of the greater part of the clans of Scotland, nobility, and gentry benorth Tay, to come in before the 1st October 1653, and give security for themselves that they trouble not the peace of the nation."¹ To counteract the endeavours of the clergy for keeping alive a public interest in the king, a proclamation was made prohibiting all to pray for him in public, or even in families. Such interference with religious freedom was so tyrannical and impolitic that it must have tended to produce a public reaction, and to defeat the very end it was designed to serve. Persecution in every shape is bad, but it is peculiarly revolting when

¹ Laing's History, iv., 483, 484.

inflicted by those who boast of their services to the cause of liberty.

In spite of all such prohibitions and precautions, the ministers persisted in praying for their exiled prince; and his friends in the kingdom were not deterred from a new attempt to raise his standard. To such an enterprise they were encouraged by the absence of Monk, whose services were required in the Dutch war, and in consequence of the apprehensions entertained by the earls of Glencairn and Balcarras, that their correspondence with Charles had been detected. These two noblemen retired into the highlands, and were soon joined by the earls of Angus and Montrose, the lords Kenmure and Lorn. Although their insurrectionary movements were known to the English, all the endeavours of Lilburn to prevent their preparations were unsuccessful. Considerable numbers of the discontented, in the middle ranks, repaired to the highlands, and in a short time their levies amounted to five thousand men, and some say a much greater number. The most remarkable enterprize was undertaken by one Wogan, connected with the court of Charles on the continent. This fool-hardy young man, hearing of the nascent appearance for his master, in a fit of enthusiasm commenced a crusade through England, and proceeded, enlisting recruits in his progress, until he had arrived in safety with a considerable number of men and horses, and joined the insurgents in the highlands of Scotland. But, after distinguishing himself in a number of exploits worthy of a better cause, he was unfortunately wounded, and, from the want of proper treatment, his wound proved fatal.

The insurgents assumed a formidable appearance, and, but for their internal divisions, might soon have shaken to its centre the whole power of the usurpers in the kingdom. Glencairn, who was entrusted with the command, did not possess the confidence of his officers; his authority was disputed, and, although he

produced a commission from Charles, they refused to unite in his support. Their dissensions prevailed to such a disgraceful and alarming extent, that the king was at length induced to confer the chief command upon Middleton; and his efforts for the prosecution of the enterprise were greatly paralyzed by the continued quarrels of the chieftains. At length, Monk returned, promising to make short work among the rebels; but he soon found his marches greatly harassed, and frequently resisted by the enemy, whose parties passed and repassed his forces without putting it in his power to inflict upon them any serious injury. A great part of the north was so very hospitable to the insurgents, and so much the reverse to the English, that the latter were provoked to retaliate by committing large districts to the flames.

This war was continued for nearly a year, but at length the royalists were obliged to submit; the most of the leaders were glad to accept of an indemnity; while Middleton, weakened by desertion, was surprised by Morgan at Lochgarry, and his remaining forces were dispersed. A number still continued in arms, under Glencairn, roaming in the west, but after a few unsuccessful skirmishes they were all compelled either to capitulate or disperse.

The effects of this insurrection were severely felt in many districts of the north, and the conduct of the English in setting fire to so many houses, cornfields, and other property, must have greatly incensed the people, and strengthened their prejudices against the government. Nor could it fail to create uneasiness in the mind of Cromwell by the disclosure it gave of the extent of dissatisfaction still subsisting in Scotland, and of the number and influence of those still attached to the king's interest.

The state of affairs in England was also in many respects very unsatisfactory. The influence of Cromwell was perhaps as great as the possession of the throne could have conferred, but his ambition was

constantly checked by the Long Parliament, which still claimed the sovereign control, and in various ways crossed his purposes. Impatient of such restraints, the ambitious general endeavoured to diminish the influence of the parliament on the public mind, and particularly in the army. And on the other hand, the parliament, in order to bound and diminish the prodigious power of Cromwell, had been endeavouring to reduce the militia. For this purpose they complained of its enormous expense, and thus endeavoured to gain their ends under the covert of professions of economy, and of general concern for the public good. In order to frustrate the designs of his opponents and to gratify his own ambition, Cromwell endeavoured to foster a spirit of discontent in the army, which soon burst forth in outcries against the parliament, and was accompanied with ardent declarations for right, justice, and liberty, the want of which was greatly lamented, and all the wrongs charged upon the members, who were represented as kings consulting their own interest, and regardless of the public good. It was soon suggested and openly avowed that, if the parliament would not dissolve themselves and allow a new representation to be chosen, it would be necessary for the people and the army to interpose and to compel them to resign their places. And, in order to accomplish their object without endangering the commonwealth, the duke of Gloucester, who had been confined since his father's death, was liberated and removed out of the kingdom.

While this clamour of the military continued to increase, and was frequently seconded by petitions and remonstrances demanding the payment of their arrears and insisting for a dissolution of parliament, some of the officers presumed to give demonstrations of an opposite kind, declaring that "the General designed to set up for himself." Such charges were indignantly repelled, and, agreeably to the cant very

common among the wilder sectarians, it was added that "the General's aim was only to make way for the kingdom of Jesus." But the army were in general very much disposed to support Cromwell in the execution of his purposes against the parliament. In this crisis some of his friends in the house moved for its speedy dissolution; the proposal was sternly resisted, and, to prevent its repetition, a vote was passed declaring it treason for any one to attempt a change of the government. But it soon appeared, that acts of parliament, however penal in their terms, are altogether weak and inefficient when opposed by the military force of the kingdom. The new declaration formed a sufficient pretext for enabling Cromwell to proceed to extreme measures. He now consulted with his officers about the suppression of parliament, and made arrangements for the subsequent administration. The parliament, aware of their perilous predicament, began to evince some disposition to dissolve, which produced a temporary interruption of the movements in progress against them. But after hearing various reports about their intentions, Cromwell was informed that a measure was in preparation for the purpose of continuing the present parliament about a year and a half longer.

The general was not either in temper or in circumstances for delay. Having ordered a company of soldiers, he proceeded to the scene of conflict, and leaving them at the door, entered the house accompanied by Harrison. He was met by St John, to whom he deplored the sad but necessary service now devolved upon him, "a duty which grieved him to the soul, and which he had earnestly and with tears beseeched the Lord not to impose on him, but was unavoidable for the glory of God." Sitting down, he listened to the debate for some time; and then beckoning to Harrison, said, he thought it now appeared the proper season for the execution of his purpose. "Sir," said Harrison, "the work is very

great and dangerous; I desire you seriously to consider before you engage in it." "You say well," Cromwell rejoined, and kept his seat a little longer; but when the vote was put respecting the dissolution, he started to his feet, and in a long tirade of coarse and violent invective, loaded the members with every species of abuse; and descending to personalities, in a style of gross vulgarity, he charged some with drunkenness, others with whoredom, and the house in general with selfishness, insufficiency, flagrant partiality, and injustice. He told them "they had espoused the corrupt interests of presbyterians and lawyers; and that they had only adopted the measure of dissolution when it could no longer be avoided, but that were the necessity removed, they would recall what they had done." "I tell you," said he, stamping furiously with his feet, and pacing up and down the house, "you are no longer a parliament." Taking up the mace, he exclaimed, "What shall we do with this bauble here? take it away; begone, and give place to more honest men!" It was vain for any one to attempt a vindication of the house; his proceedings were so arrogant and overbearing, that his own friends were ashamed of him. Sir Henry Vane said, "this is not honest, yea, it is against morality and common honesty;" but his voice was soon drowned by the vociferation of Cromwell, crying, "Oh Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane, the Lord deliver me from such men as Sir Harry Vane!"

The extraordinary and disgraceful scene being acted for a considerable time, Cromwell ordered his soldiers to advance and clear the house, and he carried off the records with his own hands. On the evening of the same day, Cromwell, accompanied by Lambert and Harrison, repaired to the council of state, which was then met, and informed them that their official powers had terminated with the parliament. Bradshaw replied, "Sir, we have heard of what you did in the morning, and before many hours

all England will hear of it; but, sir, you are mistaken to think the parliament is dissolved; for no power under heaven can dissolve it but themselves." Others delivered themselves in similar terms, but all were at length silenced, finding it vain to contend with military violence.*

Those, of course, who have committed themselves to the vindication of Cromwell in almost all his proceedings, have awarded to their champion high praise for the part he acted on this occasion. We have not met a more just remark upon the subject than that of Whitelock, who observes, "It pleased God, that this assembly, famous through the world for its undertakings, actions, and successes, having subdued all their enemies, were themselves overthrown and ruined by their own servants; and those whom they had raised pulled down their own masters." The violent dissolution of the long parliament was viewed by the different parties with pleasure or with indignation, according to the effect they believed it would produce upon their respective interests. The old cavaliers, who detested the parliament as the principal cause of all their misfortunes, must have contemplated its end with ineffable satisfaction, and the more so when they viewed it as a step to a change of government, which might lead to the restoration of the royal family. The officers of the army, regarding it as a deliverance from the danger to which their interests had been exposed, by the efforts of that assembly to reduce them, hailed its dissolution with equal delight. To the presbyterians and independents it appeared at best a perilous and doubtful measure; and the manner in which it was carried could recommend it to none. The whole policy of Cromwell savours of despotism in its most offensive form; and his rude, intemperate behaviour

¹ Brodie's History of the British Empire, iv. 346. Critical View of the Life of Cromwell, 148. Harris' Life of Cromwell.

at this time, could not fail to degrade him in the eyes of the world.

The same power which dispersed the parliament behoved to assume the sovereignty, otherwise the vessel of state, without a hand to steer it, would have been driven before the elements to the common wreck of the kingdom. The supreme authority was without delay committed to a council of officers, with Cromwell at their head, who published a manifesto, justifying his late proceedings, and engaging to commit the administration to men of approved fidelity, and to leave them to remodel it in the way most conducive to the public good. Accordingly, Cromwell, in conjunction with thirty of his officers, published a declaration, nominating a council of state as an interim government, until a proper representation could be appointed; and they summoned one hundred and forty select persons from the counties of England to meet at Westminster and settle the affairs of the nation. Thus the elective franchise was usurped by these military aspirants, whose conduct might well be suspected as threatening a system of despotism, less tolerable than what the nation had suffered from the royalists. There can be no doubt that Cromwell had already entertained the question of his own promotion to the sovereignty of Britain, and, had his ambition been equally daring with that of Napoleon, he would have kept the reins now that they were in his hands, and asserted his claims to them at all hazards. But, owing his promotion no less to the control he had acquired over the public mind by chiming in with the popular tone of religious feeling, than to his military prowess and achievements, he felt bound to pay respect to the name which he had acquired among the sectaries for personal sanctity and public beneficence.

In obedience to the summons of the military council, the new representatives met, and Cromwell formally committed to them the government of the

commonwealth, limiting their authority to the 3d of November 1654. This parliament, got up for the purpose of supporting Cromwell and the army in their usurpation, was contemptuously called Barebones' parliament,¹ sometimes the little parliament; and, in point of capacity for legislation, they formed a striking contrast with their predecessors. Few of them were men of rank and experience; the most were better fitted for a sectarian meeting-house than for a national senate, owing their notoriety to the enthusiasm and extravagance of their religious sentiments. The radical character of their measures soon alarmed not only churchmen and lawyers, but even Cromwell himself, who became ashamed of them, and, in a short time, succeeded in inducing them to resign their commission, which was done in the month of December.

The military projectors having failed in their first attempt to establish a government, Lambert proposed that the freedom of the commonwealth should be tempered by the authority of a single person, to be known by the appellation of Protector. The plan being submitted to the consideration of a military council, was unanimously approved of, and they concurred in the propriety of conferring the honour upon Cromwell. The general acquiesced, and was installed with circumstances of great splendour and solemnity. And it may suffice to add, that the government was constructed on a plan, in every respect congenial to his wishes; so that if he was not crowned and called the king, he possessed more influence than is commonly wielded by those who are honoured with the royal insignia. It may well awaken the astonishment of posterity, that this individual, supported by an army of enthusiasts, anabaptists, fifth-monarchy men, and republicans, rose from obscurity to the highest

¹ From a leather merchant, called Praise-God-Barebone, who was one of their chief orators.

pinnacle in the three kingdoms, without the consent either of the parliament or of the people; that in spite of all their jealousies, conspiracies, and efforts for his overthrow, he kept his seat, and that the difficulties of his career were only equalled by the success and splendour of its accomplishment.

The decided tendency of all Cromwell's movements was to undermine gradually the presbyterian establishment, and to supplant it by the sectaries. Independents were indiscriminately promoted to chairs in universities, and to parochial churches; they were also employed by the Protector as his chaplains, and joined to presbyterians as *triers* of such as applied for benefices. Sectarianism was fostered by the countenance of government, while presbytery was frowned upon, and tolerated more on a principle of latitudinarianism than from any respect to it as a scriptural system of ecclesiastical polity. Presbytery, indeed, had not obtained sufficient time for striking its roots so firmly in the soil of England, as to resist the opposition with which it was assailed—an opposition the more subversive on account of its specious pretensions. It is manifest from the whole of its history in England, that, although it numbered among its supporters many able and excellent men, who did much for the success of the gospel, and whose labours were blessed for the benefit of the people; yet as a system, it was exposed to so many withering influences from the civil powers, and from the state of parties, that it did not flourish under the commonwealth, but decayed in its purity as much as it decreased in the number of its followers.

The recent political changes did not produce any very sudden or extensive alteration on the state of affairs in Scotland. That country was treated as a subordinate province, and the government of it was entrusted to a council composed chiefly of Englishmen. The supreme judicature was committed to seven judges, of whom only three belonged to Scot-

land. Monk was chosen commander-in-chief of the army, and he also obtained an appointment as a commissioner of civil affairs. The confidence reposed in this general was however accompanied with precautions and checks, which proved the Protector to be possessed of sufficient discrimination to penetrate the artful and designing character of the man with whom he had to deal. Lord Broghill was made president of the council, with a salary of two thousand pounds a-year, to be continued for life. In all these arrangements, the English pretended to confer upon Scotland equal privileges with those enjoyed by themselves; but in point of fact it was placed beneath the level of an English province; and their government and the public offices of their kingdom were so far committed to strangers, that in every measure of importance the Scots were made to feel themselves a feeble minority.¹

But though the growing influence of Cromwell greatly encouraged the sectaries to persevere in the publication of "diverse and strange doctrines," and in their endeavours to expose to contempt the ministerial office as well as to effect a full overthrow of the existing establishment, they made comparatively little progress in Scotland. The people there had imbibed the principles of presbytery from the first reformation; they had been taught to associate with that system of polity all that is pure and venerable in the house of God, and to identify it with that liberty, the possession of which is essential to the happiness of man as a member of the church and a citizen of the world. The sectarians of the south did not take our Scottish presbyterians by surprise; they had heard of the mongrel system while it was springing up and being developed in England; their faithful watchmen had warned them of its approach, and apprized them of its nature and tendencies. The

¹ Brodie's History, iv. 388.

intelligent part of the community were therefore prepared to combat any thing its abettors put forth in the shape of argument, and to receive with great suspicion their high professions of extreme sanctity. A few of the protesters may have, in some particular and passing instances, given them countenance ; but, as a body, they still remained the stedfast and uncompromising supporters of the covenants. The system, if it can be so called, propagated by the English, possessed but few charms capable of attracting much respect, or of commanding any considerable support, even among the more indifferent of the northern population. It was not congenial to the national temperament, any more than methodism and many other sects that have flourished in England in later times, but have met a very cold reception in Scotland.

The late insurrection of the royalists had, for a little, raised the dejected spirits of the resolutioners ; but their hopes were soon blasted by the discomfiture of the insurgents, and the rise of Cromwell, whose edicts against the ministers that prayed for the king, or endeavoured to promote his interests, became more peremptory, and were executed with greater severity than before. In the month of September, Messrs George Hamilton, Colon Edem, Robert Bennet, and David Guthrie, ministers of the presbytery of St Andrews, were arrested by some of the English soldiery, and carried prisoners to Edinburgh, for persisting in public prayers for the king. Many were subjected to great annoyance from soldiers and public functionaries on similar grounds. On one occasion, a number of the military intruded upon Mr Row, minister of Ceres, and teased him with ensnaring questions respecting the king, the late insurrection, and some movements in his immediate neighbourhood, till he became so nettled as to answer them with little ceremony. When asked if he would fight for the king, he answered, that he was "no good fighter, but he should pray for him and them

heartily, and they should have his good wishes." For this open and humorous avowal, the good man was dragged to Cupar, then to Burntisland, and, after being brought back to Cupar, he was dismissed on giving bond that he would do nothing prejudicial to the commonwealth, under the penalty of one hundred pounds sterling. The privilege of meeting in presbyteries and synods was not called in question, although their proceedings were observed with a very suspicious eye. When the synod of Fife met at St Andrews, where Rutherford and some of his brethren had a good deal of altercation concerning the sins of the ministry, two English officers entered the house and took their seat. Being asked if they had come for the purpose of taking part in the proceedings of the court, they replied that such was not their design, but they were commanded to see that nothing was done prejudicial to the interests of the commonwealth. The synod assured them that the commonwealth had not been named until the subject was now introduced by themselves.¹

But the most notorious ecclesiastical meeting at this time was the synod of Glasgow, a stronghold of protesters. It was opened by a leading protester, whose exhibition is caricatured by Baillie in the following ludicrous style: "The moderator's sermon ran upon the necessity of taking up the too-long-neglected work of purging. The man's vehemency in this and in his prayer, a strange kind of sighing, the like whereof I had never heard, as a pythonizing out of the belly of a second person, made me amazed."² In proceeding to business it appears that both parties were intent upon "purging," but the subjects of their intended discipline were not the same. The protesters were zealous for the deposition of ministers found immoral in their lives, inefficient in their ministrations, and who, by their countenance to a growing

¹ Lamont's Diary.

² Baillie's Letters, ii. 373.

defection, endangered the interests of the reformation. The resolutioners professed not to be unwilling to censure the immoral and erroneous, but their aims were more particularly directed against those protesters, who, after being deposed, had refused to acquiesce in the censures of the church, and not only continued to exercise their ministry as before, but had the presumption to come to the synod, and take their seats as possessing unexceptionable qualifications. With such cross purposes the proceedings of the court could not fail to produce collision, so as to obstruct the progress of business, and to make new demonstrations of the hostility and the power belonging to their respective parties.

The resolutioners insisted that a synod so much divided in sentiment should not proceed with the precipitation manifested by the other party, in the appointment of committees for visiting the different districts of the country, and rigorously executing processes of discipline. Had this proposal, tempered with wisdom and moderation, as it is professed to be, been listened to, it might have proved to some degree a healing measure, and been productive of happy results. But it was rejected, and the determination of the protesters to carry their point, emboldened the resolutioners to an equal firmness in insisting, "that ministers censured by the General Assembly, and elders notoriously opposite to the three last General Assemblies, might have no voice." It was vain to expect the acquiescence of the protesters in any such proposal, and it therefore became impossible for the two parties to proceed as a synod. The resolutioners, anticipating such an emergency, had consulted with the ministers of Edinburgh respecting the most proper mode of procedure. Accordingly, having entered their protest, they left the house in a body, and having repaired to the Blackfriars, they there prepared an act of constitution, and held a separate synod. Reluctant to make a

permanent breach in the church, some of them spent the next day in endeavours to bring the two parties together; but the spirit of party defeated every conciliatory effort, and the two factions at length proceeded to business as distinct synods. The resolutioners prepared an act for a fast, and agreed to meet at Irvine. Intimation of their proceedings was made to the synods of Lothian, Galloway, Argyll, and some others.

The protesters elected Mr William Guthrie as their moderator, and proceeded to appoint a committee to go to Lanark to "purge and plant," as might be found necessary. In consequence of the late rising in the north, the government became more decided in supporting the protesters, and in counteracting the measures of the resolutioners. The purging committee was protected and seconded by a party of soldiers or civil officers, and their censures could not be set at defiance. The resolutioners had adopted measures for preventing the entrance of such as belonged to the opposite section into the ministry; and the protesters now retaliated by directing the disposal of livings very frequently in favour of their own supporters. They are charged, by their opponents, with intrusions no less violent and disgraceful than those which marked the triumphant march of moderation in the eighteenth century. Such extravagant representations, however, can only be regarded as the effusions of mortification at the defeat of their own party, and spite at the ascendancy of their opponents. The resolutioners, indeed, endeavoured by their pamphlets and by all possible means to put forward themselves as the popular party, and their preachers as preferred by the public, while they represented the protesters as owing all their influence among the people to the bare arm of civil power. But in point of fact the preachers belonging to the protesters were the more popular; the great body of the people evinced a decided preference for them, and instead of depending

on the civil power for their success, its interposition in their behalf was fitted to produce a reaction, and to dispose the people, from the prejudice they entertained against the English, to cleave to the party in the church which opposed the existing civil government. Yet in spite of their prejudices against the English, and their suspicions of the protesters on account of the support they received from the usurper, the people, zealous for the interests of the reformation, were partial to those that opposed the admission of malignants into public offices, and they continued to shew this by their countenance to ordinances dispensed by the protesters. Baillie bewrays himself by the manner in which he speaks upon this subject. While he represents the settlements promoted by his opponents as of the most forcible and offensive kind, he speaks of the great multitudes attending their sacraments, and of their ministrations as conducted in the most popular style. Such as have any acquaintance with the elegant yet spiritual and edifying style of Mr Andrew Gray's sermons, will know what confidence to place in Baillie as an authority upon this subject when he says, "He has the new guise of preaching which Mr Hugh Binning and Mr Robert Leighton began, contemning the ordinary way of beginning and expounding a text, of raising doctrines, and uses; but runs out in a discourse on some common head, in a high romancing unscriptural style, tickling the ear for the present, and moving the affections in some, but leaving, as he confesses, little or nought to the memory or understanding."¹ In a similar strain Baillie writes respecting the best preachers on the side of his opponents; and the manner in which he speaks of the religious services of that party in general, is truly deplorable, presenting as it does, an affecting illustration of the baneful effects of prejudice and party spirit upon the best of minds.

¹ Baillie's Letters, vol. ii., 385.

He even adopts language too like what the infidel and the scorner have been accustomed to employ, for the profane purpose of exposing religion to ridicule and contempt.

The Church of Scotland, at this time, presented an aspect, the contemplation of which cannot fail to awaken deep regret in every rightly constituted mind. Split into conflicting factions, synods and presbyteries were principally engrossed with measures, the tendency of which was the misrepresentation, resistance, or defeat of their brethren. In the whole history of the church, we feel satisfied it would be difficult to find so much good combined with so much evil—such an amount of genuine religion in a church convulsed to its centre by the powers of the spirit of division, with all its direful attendants and consequences. Both parties included not a few of the “excellent of the earth,” but the very best of them have left to posterity impressive memorials that they were only excellent in part. The evil example of the ministers was too closely copied by the people. While the clerical patrons exerted their utmost endeavours for the settlement of their own party in vacant churches, they were seconded by the people; and when their purposes were frustrated, there sometimes ensued most unseemly ebullitions of popular discontent, for which their leaders were mainly responsible. Some of the ministers carried their peculiar sentiments to such an extreme as to exclude from the sacraments all who opposed them, the protesters debarring such as favoured the public resolutions, and the resolutioners refusing to admit such as gave countenance to the English usurpation. The consequences of such unwarrantable and injudicious measures were in every respect much to be deplored. In a number of places, and particularly in some of the large towns, the sacrament was not dispensed at all for five or six years; and where it was dispensed there was a deplorable want of that peace and charity which should distinguish

the disciples of Jesus. Both parties evinced a deep sense of the distressing circumstances in which they were placed. They all professed to lament their divisions; but they were, at the same time, equally decided in vindicating themselves, and in fastening the odium upon their opponents.

Various attempts were made for the purpose of healing the breach in particular districts, where its pernicious effects were more severely felt. The divided synod of Glasgow, above referred to, had some conference and correspondence for this purpose; and similar attempts were made in other places. But, failing in these local negociations, and convinced that nothing permanent or satisfactory could result from any adjustment that could be effected in a synod or presbytery, it was at length resolved to hold a conference at Edinburgh, for the purpose of promoting a general union between the parties. The laudable purpose originated with Messrs Durham and Blair. Durham was sometimes claimed by the one party, and sometimes by the other. Nor was he of that imbecile, unprincipled, and temporizing spirit which vacillates and shifts according to the varying prospects of parties; but, pious and peaceful, zealous and public-spirited, he was deeply grieved at their disgraceful contentions, and, believing that many of their differences might be consigned to oblivion, while the cause of religion and of the reformation might at the same time be maintained and promoted, he was most earnest to bring them together, that, by mutual explanations, forbearance, and forgiveness, they might no longer embolden their enemies, and bring reproach upon their common christianity, but, united in truth and love, they might co-operate and encourage one another in the work of their common Master, and for the welfare of souls. It must have been very gratifying to Durham to find such a man as Robert Blair disposed to co-operate in such a laudable enterprise. "The memoirs of Mr

Robert Blair, who was first settled at Bangor, in Ireland, and latterly at St Andrews, exhibit the history of a mind deeply exercised about eternal things, and may be regarded as a fair specimen of the warm and manly piety, chastened by knowledge, and rendered firm and consistent by the admixture of public principle, which distinguished many in these times."¹ This excellent man, who had hitherto for the most part concurred with the resolutioners, now manifested a more temperate and conciliatory disposition than the most of that party. In him Durham found a kindred spirit and a well-qualified coadjutor. Having obtained the concurrence of Mr James Wood, in the appointment of a conference to meet at Edinburgh, they nominated a number of ministers to represent each party. For the resolutioners, they named Messrs Robert Douglas, Robert Baillie, David Dickson, Hugh Mackel, W. Rate, W. Douglas of Aberdeen, John Robertson of Dundee, James Wood, and James Ferguson. For the protesters, they named Messrs James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, John Livingston, Samuel Rutherford, Robert Trail, Samuel Austin, and some others.²

The sentiments with which Baillie contemplated the proposal is another proof of the very high ground he took in the controversy, and of the strength of his prejudices against the protesters. "So soon as I heard of this motion so far advanced, I was feared for the consequences of it, and therefore wrote Mr Dickson to beware of the danger." Not contented with this, he invited a number of the brethren, in whose caution he had particular confidence, and, among others, the afterwards notorious Mr James Sharp. He was afraid his brethren, influenced by Durham and Blair, would be too pliant, and lest they might be induced to make some humbling concessions.

¹ M'Crie's Sketches of Scottish Church History, p. 180.

² Baillie, ii. 387.

But his fears were agreeably disappointed on finding both parties equally averse to any measures of a conciliatory kind. "The remonstrants had as little mind to meet with us as we with them." Such was the tone of the high resolutioners, and, proceeding from such an influential man as Baillie, it may warn the reader how to receive the professions for peace, loudly sounded and industriously circulated by that party.

The projected conference never took place. After some communications between the parties, the protesters intimated, that owing to the absence of Messrs Rutherford and Livingston, "they could not at that time engage in a conference." The resolutioners presented a paper to their brethren containing proposals of union similar to what had been made by the General Assembly, and they stated, that if they could acquiesce in it, or prepare any thing in which both parties might be expected to agree, a meeting might be afterwards called, on application to Messrs Dickson and Tait, as conveners of the respective parties. It does not appear that this paper contained any concession, or made any proposal more satisfactory than what had been made on a former occasion. But Mr Blair had prepared an overture of such a conciliatory kind, that some of his brethren accused him of abandoning their cause. "As for that of Mr Blair," says Baillie, "we were all of us offended with it, as granting to the remonstrants all their unseasonable desires. For this we expostulated sharply enough with him, and he with us." It is evident that Blair was cordially united with Durham in the honourable work of mediation, and that nothing prevented their success, but the obstinate and inveterate animosities of both parties.

Pressed by the force of circumstances, the resolutioners at length became less decided in their demonstrations against the English, and in the avowal of their attachment to the royal family. The ma-

gistrates of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and a number of other places, having been for a considerable time deprived of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, began to insist on the dispensation of that ordinance in their respective parishes. In consequence of their compliance with the English, they had been excluded from sealing ordinances, and could not obtain admission without professions of repentance. But while they demanded admission, they at the same time peremptorily refused to make any acknowledgments. Unable to evade the applications of the magistrates, the ministers were obliged either to comply with their request, or to incur the immediate displeasure of the civil powers. After a good deal of discussion, in a meeting at Edinburgh, in which there appeared considerable variety of opinion, some general and ambiguous terms of admission were agreed to, which, after requiring something like an acknowledgment, left it with their consciences to come forward or not as they "thought good."

A still more formidable obstacle met them on the point of praying for the king. From this they were now expressly prohibited, on the pain of losing their stipends. Such a penalty could not fail to make them reconsider the subject, and to inquire whether they could not consistently forbear. After deliberation it was found, that their greatest obstacle in the way of compliance, arose from the scandal that would be occasioned by yielding in order to save their livings. At length, encouraged by Monk, they made application to the Protector, and, through the good offices of lord Broghill, they ultimately obtained the repeal of that obnoxious statute, while they consented to desist from mentioning the king in their prayers. Since the promotion of Cromwell to the protectorate, he had become less partial to the sectaries, and found considerable annoyance from the freedom they took in meddling with the public affairs of the kingdom. For the purpose of imposing some check upon them,

Cromwell became more favourable to the presbyterians in England, who, on the application of Baillie and others, performed good offices at court for the Church of Scotland.

The resolutioners now endeavoured to supplant their opponents in the favour of the Protector, nor were either of them very scrupulous in avoiding the artifice and intrigue that characterise the courtiers of this world. In order to solicit the support of government to their schemes of party promotion, Messrs Gillespie, Menzies, and Livingston went up to London, and were well received at court. They were honoured to preach in the Protector's chapel, and, after obtaining mitigation for a number oppressed with fines, and receiving various favours to the universities, they returned; and, but for one party privilege, their conduct would have met general approbation. But they obtained an order for the judges to allow no entrant to the ministry any stipend, until he receive an attestation from a certain number of the protesters. Against this arrangement the resolutioners inveighed, as conferring upon an inconsiderable minority, the power of controlling the patrimony of the whole church, and of enabling them to confer it upon those of their own party. And the measure was the more offensive on account of a clause authorizing the judges to assist in the ejection of such ministers as might by the purging committees be found scandalous. The professed object of those who obtained the appointment, was to confer upon the protesters an equal power with the resolutioners in the disposal of livings. Complaints upon this subject had been loud and incessant, and the protesters insisted that, being a minority, they could not, without some such arrangement as they now obtained, in any contest be able to assert their just claims against the superior number of their opponents. "Gillespie's charter," for so was the order obtained from the council called, was generally condemned in strong terms

by the resolutioners, and they employed every means of offering serious remonstrances to the Protector upon the subject. It did not meet full approbation even among the protesters, for Guthrie and Warriston, though high in their demands, were both opposed to it; but it enabled their party for a time to maintain their ground in spite of the opposition.

The applications made to Cromwell and Monk by the protesters and resolutioners for the redress of their respective grievances, with the grave charges they preferred against each other, could not fail to be very irksome and offensive both to the Protector and to the General. From the interest he took in ecclesiastical affairs, the former would probably make some inquiry into the merits of the controversy; but the latter regarded their contests with indifference and contempt; and if he seemed to espouse the cause of either, it was not for the sake of its own intrinsic merits, but for their subserviency to his own selfish designs. How was the cause of presbytery and of the brotherly covenant degraded and exposed to reproach by the conduct of its professed friends, when they sought the assistance and protection of its enemies against each other!

The common profession of each party was, "I am for peace; but when I speak they are for war." The protesters were very much blamed for refusing to engage in conference with their brethren who met in July, at Edinburgh, for that purpose. In order to save themselves from such an imputation, some of them requested the ministers of Edinburgh to call a meeting with the view of settling their differences; so that, if the divisions still continued, it might appear who were chiefly to be blamed. The meeting being called, sat down on the 8th of November 1655. It included nine members from each of the parties. The resolutioners were Messrs Douglas, Baillie, Dickson, Wood, Ker, Ferguson, Young, Mackell, and Smith; the protesters were Warriston, Sir John

Cheesly, colonel Ker, Messrs Rutherford, Naysmith, Trail, and Gabriel Maxwell. Messrs Durham and Blair again placed themselves between the two parties, and acted the part of "peace-makers."

The conference was continued for about two weeks, being the longest ever employed for the professed purpose of putting an end to that distressing controversy. The negotiations were conducted by written communications, in the shape of proposals, queries, offers, refusals, &c.; and they had also meetings for mutual explanation, and probably for debating particular points. The resolutioners, having sent a paper of overtures to their brethren when formerly in Edinburgh, it belonged to the protesters to make the first communication at this time. Baillie informs us that their papers "were all drawn by Mr Guthrie's hand of Warriston's materials."¹ From the high ground these two protesters took in this controversy, they were not perhaps the best qualified for preparing communications of a conciliatory kind. Their first paper is characterized by the other party as "so high and absurd, that we could scarcely believe our own apprehensions of it." It was responded to by a number of queries respecting its meaning; and a similar entertainment was in their turn vouchsafed to the overtures of the resolutioners. In this manner was the conference conducted for a considerable time, and the following is the substance of what was advanced respectively:—The resolutioners did "propound and desire: That the acts of the General Assembly 1650 concerning the public resolutions, and their declarations, and warnings, and acts, resulting therefrom, and the declarations and acts in presbyteries and synods, that are the results thereof, be rendered of none effect in regard to censure past or to come; and also, so far as they do import or may be alleged as the public definitive judgment of this

¹ Letters, vol. ii., 401.

kirk or of any of the judicatories thereof, anent the matters contained therein, and that they be not re-acted in any time hereafter. Next, that it be declared that the two controverted Assemblies at St Andrews, Dundee, and Edinburgh shall be, as to their constitution in things protested against, no precedent nor prejudice to the constitution of future General Assemblies." They also professed a readiness to join with their brethren in the faithful and impartial exercise of discipline; and offered to submit their remaining differences to the next General Assembly, to the decisions of which their brethren were to be bound to submit.

The protesters, believing that the Church of Scotland could neither be faithful to God, nor find safety to themselves, unless the public resolutions were explicitly condemned, insisted for liberty to introduce the subject into future General Assemblies. And being a minority, they judged it reasonable, that until the final settlement of the present differences, their party should be allowed to send the same number of members to the Assembly with their opponents; because to commit their cause to a court, the majority of whose members were opposed to it, would be equivalent to the abandonment of it at once. And in order to a satisfactory management "of planting and purging" affairs, they proposed that a committee be formed of an equal number of both parties for each synod, and a general committee out of all the synods, constituted on the same equal principle, to which matters of greater difficulty might be referred.¹

Such is a sketch of the leading proposals made at this conference by each party, for the purpose of restoring the peace of the church. In point of fact, they did not converse on either so much from an un-

¹ Baillie, "Protesters not Subscribers;" and Review of the same.

feigned desire of forming an amicable settlement, as for the purpose of giving such a pacific demonstration, as might dispose the world to believe that the continuance of the division was not owing to them, but to their opponents. The style of their proposals was more conciliatory, indeed, than what had been formerly employed; but the main obstacles still remained, and there was no actual progress in the attainment of that reunion which was so much to be desired. Besides the original causes of division, there were many difficulties of a local kind, arising from rival congregations, which, through the violence of parties, had a powerful effect in perpetuating the schism, and in frustrating every healing measure.

The conference was brought to a close; but the breach still continued wide as before. By clothing their overtures in more specious and liberal-sounding terms, the resolutioners have more frequently been regarded as the reasonable men, whose concessions would have met the cordial acquiescence of all such as were not determined either to carry their own party views in every point, or to persist in divisive courses. It was easy for the resolutioners to present their cause and their conduct in a plausible aspect, so as to please that large class of persons who take no deeper interest in the subject than to give a cursory glance at its exterior; while the protesters could not be understood without such explanations as comparatively few have patience to consider or principle to estimate. The former treated the question of the public resolutions as now of little moment, while they vindicated their proceedings respecting them with a dogmatism only equalled by the determination with which their opponents condemned them. The protesters, on the other hand, could not yield without virtually condemning all their former proceedings, and weakly surrendering the cause of truth to a majority, whom they had charged with having made defection from it. But it is painful to dwell on a con-

troversy which consisted in little more than mutual recriminations, and which, though involving some important principles, was conducted in a spirit and temper discreditable to both parties, and issued in a manner which ought to be a warning to the church in all future times, to avoid such unseemly contentions.¹

We may now revert for a little to the civil history. Cromwell did not find his personal comfort in any degree improved by his recent approximation to the attainment of regal honours. The new parliament which met upon the third September 1654, proved no less obnoxious to him than the former had been. The arbitrary manner in which he had already

¹ We are far from intending by these remarks to condemn all controversy, or to depreciate the duty of "contending earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints." And we have no sympathy with those who quote the famous answer of Leighton, when he was charged "with not preaching to the times,"—"If all the brethren have preached to the times, may not one poor brother preach on eternity?" as if his brethren did not preach on eternity as well as he, and as if the discharge of the one duty could excuse the neglect of the other! The following characteristic dialogue occurs in Brodie's Diary:—"24th May 1653.—I spoke with Mr Leighton. He thought holiness, the love of God and our brethren, was the chief duty God was calling us unto, and sobriety and forbearance to one another. He thought the Lord would break that which we would so fain hold up,—our judicatories. He had observed so much of our own spirit in them these many years past, that he loathed them for the most part, and wearied of them." [There is no new thing under the sun. Such has been the pretext of more than Leighton for deserting the post of duty in the hour of peril, and preferring peace to truth.] "I said," says Brodie, "indeed, I thought that our judicatories, these three or four years, were much deserted, and without that presence of God in them which was formerly observed." Mr Leighton said, "These differences should make the hope of heaven the sweeter." "I said, 'tis true; yet so as not to weary here, or be hasty."—*Diary of Alexander Brodie, of Brodie, Esq., one of the Senators of the College of Justice, in 1650 and 1651, p. 51. Edin. 1740.*

treated parliaments, as well as a number of the acts of council, were very offensive to the republicans, and rendered them so jealous of his measures that they were very much disposed to oppose them as the manifestations of a progressive despotism. The council of state had, previous to the meeting of parliament, usurped the legislative power, and issued several orders of the greatest importance. By one of them, the engagement formerly entered into against the government of a house of peers was recalled, and by another it was declared high treason to endeavour any thing against the life of the lord Protector, or to deny that he and the parliament were the supreme authority of the nation, and that the exercise of the supreme magistracy belonged to him. The new parliament was elected by the counties and burghs, and although Cromwell and his supporters exerted their influence to prevent the return of such a majority of republicans as might endanger his power, they could not control the public mind, and in spite of them the republicans were very generally elected in England.

When the parliament met, the Protector, in order to justify his late assumption of the government, harangued the house on the state of parties, and endeavoured to convince them of the imminent danger to which property, religion, and every thing valuable in the country, were exposed from anabaptists, fifth-monarchy men, and levellers. But the republicans possessed penetration enough to discern the real intentions of Cromwell, and to form a correct estimate of those perils on which he had dilated with such pathos. Unmoved by all his manifestations, they proceeded to business with such independent firmness as could scarcely fail to astound his highness. The very first subject to which they directed their attention was calculated to convince him that he held his honours by a very doubtful and precarious tenure. They commenced with a discussion respecting the expediency of recognising his

usurped authority, and of acting agreeably to the new form of government he had adopted. And with such effect did the daring republicans inveigh against the dominion of an individual despot, that the minds of the younger members were becoming rapidly imbued with their sentiments. The Protector became alarmed, and, to prevent the danger to which he was exposed, he speedily summoned the members to meet him in the Painted Chamber, where he informed them, that by disputing his authority they had forfeited their powers as a parliament, and that no one of them would be allowed to enter the house until he acknowledged, by subscription, the existing government. Disdaining to degrade themselves, and to insult the free people whom they represented, by permitting themselves to be fettered as a national senate, a considerable number of staunch republicans resigned their commission, and refused to give any countenance to such disgraceful proceedings. The Protector, still finding those that remained not sufficiently pliable, resolved to treat them in the same manner as he had served preceding parliaments. Having obtained the consent of a sufficient number of his officers, and taken necessary precautions for preservation of the peace, he again summoned the members of parliament to the Painted Chamber, on the 22d January 1655, and harangued them in a style of arrogant unintelligible invective, "making it up in words and passion what he wanted in matter to charge them with." He claimed an indefeasible right to the reins of government on the ground of his military exploits, which he represented as an explicit intimation of the Divine will in his favour, and as amounting to an authoritative call from above to the people to concede the power, and for him to assume it. The parliament had, by presuming to dispute such self-evident facts, he conceived, proceeded so far *ultra vires*, as to forfeit all claim to farther confidence, and he accordingly, from a sense of duty, dissolved it,

and peremptorily discharged them from all pretensions to any farther possession of legislative power.¹

It would not be easy to find, among all the stretches of royal prerogative, for which the Stuarts had been notorious, a more reckless outrage of the liberties of the country than was committed by Cromwell in his treatment of this parliament. Nor was it possible that the people could be hood-winked by the flimsy pretexts he employed as arguments for the necessity of his conduct; and it is manifest that, but for the power he possessed in the army, and his wonderful tact in balancing parties so as to protect himself, he could not have kept his seat or asserted his claims for any considerable time.

But what the Protector lost in the favour and support of the republicans, he successfully endeavoured to gain among the presbyterians, and among others favourable to monarchy. The elevation he had already attained, and his obvious aspirations at supreme power were not, in present circumstances, very offensive either to the Church of Scotland or to the presbyterians in England. He now cultivated the favour of these ecclesiastical bodies in various ways, and endeavoured to employ them as a counterpoise to the republicans. Without changing his religious profession, as he had practically changed his politics, and flagrantly belied his professions of republicanism, Cromwell indulged the presbyterians by relaxing the execution of the penal laws against them, inviting them occasionally to preach in his chapel, and by such attentions as gained him some measure of their support.

In Scotland, the protesters, on account of their hostility to the restoration of the king, had hitherto, as we have seen, received more positive countenance from the Protector than their opponents. But his highness now began to evince a considerable respect for the resolutioners, and, in order to prepare them-

¹ Brodie's History, iv. 379—385.

selves for successfully combating their protesting brethren in the scrambles that were frequently occurring about benefices and vacant churches, they met his advances with the utmost cordiality, and eagerly embraced every opportunity of soliciting his patronage. Watching the movements of their opponents with a vigilant and jealous eye, they had represented them as making shameful compliances and compromises of principle in their intercourse with government; and yet it is very doubtful if their own conduct was more honourable after they had obtained access at court. Pretending that the protesters were making preparations of an alarming kind—that they would in a little declare themselves to be the Church of Scotland—and that, having obtained the assistance of government, they would claim the parish churches of the kingdom as exclusively theirs, the resolutioners appointed one of their number to proceed to London for the purpose of counteracting the schemes in progress, and of soliciting an equal share of public countenance. The individual delegated upon this important commission was Mr James Sharp, minister at Crail. If the simple execution of their purpose, irrespective of equitable and honourable means, was their object, they were certainly very felicitous in the selection of a fit instrument. Sharp possessed such qualifications as could scarcely fail to ensure success to the cause with which he was entrusted. Deep, artful, insinuating, and regardless of the restraints of conscience or principle, he was surpassed by few in dexterity for intrigue and the dark stratagems practised in courts, which are frequently productive of the most extensive changes upon the destiny of empires and churches. He had supported the public resolutions, and, like his brethren, he had been zealous in the cause of the crown; but all this did not prevent him from taking the English tender, and, when it served his purpose, appearing as the most obedient servant of Cromwell. Single-handed, this consum-

mate courtier succeeded, at London, in setting at defiance all the applications and petitions of the protesters; and, having done them the worst offices, first with Cromwell, and afterwards with Charles, he at length betrayed the whole cause of presbytery; after which, being promoted to the primacy of Scotland, he planted his iron foot on the liberties of the kingdom, and acted the leading part in one of the most terrible tragedies ever performed in any Christian nation.

The resolutioners had great confidence in Sharp, and they were sanguine in their expectations of his commission to London. After he had been a short time at court, we find his services were highly appreciated by his friends. "Our church," says Robert Baillie, "has been pretty quiet; our troubling remonstrants not having yet prevailed with the English to get authority from them to exercise their tyranny among us. The great instrument of God to cross their evil designs, has been that very worthy, pious, wise, and diligent young man, Mr James Sharp."¹ Poor Baillie lived to see and lament that he and his brethren should have let themselves be "trepanned by piece, in so cunning a way," by this arrant traitor.²

Soon after the departure of Sharp to London, a deputation of the protesters followed him, for the purpose of soliciting the Protector's sanction to certain measures of ecclesiastical management. This deputation included Messrs James Guthrie, Gillespie, and Warriston, with one or two more of their most active members. The following is Baillie's account of their intentions:—"The remonstrants make it their endeavour to put themselves as the commission of 1650, or under such notion, in a committee to purge and plant all Scotland, with the English allowance to them as the godly party; one of the vilest, most shameful,

¹ Brodie's Letters, vol. ii., 214.

² Ibid., vol. ii., p. 459.

and tyrannical tricks that was ever heard of in any church in any time." The special object of their mission may be learned from the proposals they submitted to Cromwell. They proposed, "that within the bounds of every synod there should be named a committee, of equal number of Assembly-men and protesters, who should have power to determine all differences in planting and purging in all the presbyteries of the bounds; that there should be a committee of delegates from all the synods, of equal number of Assembly-men and protesters, to determine finally all differences ecclesiastic in the land; that the Protector should nominate a committee to plant kirks, and that the power of giving stipends in all vacant churches should be in this committee; that the parliament should renew the act of classes, to the end the places of civil power should be in the hand of persons well affected to the best interests of the church."¹ The sanction of government to such proposals would have greatly diminished the power which the resolutioners possessed from their numerical majority, and it would have enabled the protesters to dispute, on equal ground, the most of the subjects then practically contested. While the protesters exerted themselves in every possible way to demonstrate the equity of their proposals, and to induce the Protector to grant their request, Sharp was equally on the alert in attempting to expose their principles and to prevent their progress. They insisted that, without some such protection as was proposed in their overtures, they would be entirely overborne by their opponents, and that, deprived of the benefits of an establishment, they would be exposed to every species of oppression; while, destitute of discipline, the church would soon become so corrupt that it would be impossible for vital godliness to subsist in her. On the other hand, Sharp represented them as schismatics,

¹ Baillie's Letters, ii. 416.

who causelessly disturbed the peace of the church, and rejected the most conciliatory overtures; he contended that their proposals would subject the Church of Scotland to the control of an inconsiderable faction, and would exhibit to the world a most unparalleled display of absurdity and iniquity, which could not fail to expose their supporters to contempt, and to produce the most disastrous consequences to the religion, the government, and the general good of the country. Both sides of the question received able support in England. The cause of the protesters was espoused by many officers of great influence in the army, who favoured them for their opposition to the royalists; while many of the independents and other sectarians befriended them from party considerations. Sharp again was seconded by Lord Broghill, and by the great body of English presbyterians.

There is reason to think that the wily agent of the resolutioners made many converts to his cause by printing a pamphlet upon the controversy in London, which had been written by Mr Wood of St Andrews, and softened a little by Mr Hutcheson.¹ It is entitled, "A true representation of the rise, progress, and state of the present divisions of the Church of Scotland." The pamphlet discusses the subject under three heads:—the rise of the differences—some of the irregular courses they have run into, and of their improper practices for strengthening their party—and what means were employed by the resolutioners to restore the peace of the church. It professes to find the rise of the controversy in the westland remonstrance, and the cause of it considerably farther back. The public resolutions are presented in the most imposing light, while the principal objections to them are kept entirely in the shade; the contested Assemblies are vindicated; and the general conduct of the protesters, in meeting together for prayer and

¹ Baillie, ut supra.

conference, for the observance of fasts, communions, and for discipline, particularly in arrogating to themselves the powers of the commission of the General Assembly 1650, is characterized as a specimen of the wildest sectarianism, subversive of the first principles of order, and justly condemned by all sober-minded men. In conclusion, the pamphlet extols the moderation of the resolutioners in treating their opponents with so great leniency, praises the proposals they had made for union, and obtests the protesters, by all that is sacred, to make peace with their brethren. "As we have no greater ambition in the world than to have this church united in the judicatories thereof in its former harmony and unity; and as we drive no particular interest, nor desire any thing but what tends to the whole good of the whole church, our brethren's as well as ours; so our hearts and arms are yet open and ready to embrace them upon safe terms, providing they will not seek any thing irregular, and destructive to or out of the channel of the government."¹ Whether Sharp took any part in the preparation of this pamphlet or not, it was very much fitted to serve his purpose, and a person not well acquainted with the subject is in very great danger of being misled by it. It could not fail to produce a considerable effect when it was published; it was then puffed by the party whom it represented as triumphant, and it is referred to for satisfactory information upon the subject in our own times.² The reader who has studied the preceding pages, is left to judge how far it is worthy of being relied on as an impartial document.

The protesters, with the aid of lieutenant-general Lambert and the major-generals in the parliament, carried their proposals respecting the act of classes;

¹ True Representation of the Rise, Progress, and State of the Present Divisions, &c., p. 48. London, 1657.

² Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 198.

but Sharp by his artful management, succeeded in obtaining private and satisfactory assurances that it should do no harm. They also spent a considerable time in importunately soliciting the sanction of government to their other proposals; but they were in every point met and successfully resisted by the same opponent, supported by the London ministers. The Protector, despairing of a speedy settlement of their differences, and wearied by their importunities, appointed a committee of twelve to hear both parties and to report to the council. The committee consisted of six presbyterians and six independents and sectarians. At first Sharp refused to appear, pretending he had no commission, and Mr Manton was the only presbyterian on the committee that attended; while the protesters and independents were all present, and seemed to be carrying their measures. At length other two presbyterians being induced to accompany Manton, they were so much led away by the special pleading of Sharp, that they prepared a report very unfavourable to the protesters. The independents, espousing the cause of the opposite party, prepared a statement equally unfavourable to the resolutioners. When these conflicting representations were presented to the council, the members, perceiving that the subject in dispute was of a very involved and perplexing kind, and seeing no good end to be served by their interference with it or by offending either party, resolved to grant no deliverance on the question, and to write to the ministers of Edinburgh, recommending an agreement at home among themselves. It is affirmed by Baillie, that "into this letter, by canny conveyance of their friend Mr Scobel, clerk to the council, they" (the protesters) "had foisted a very hurtful clause, that when there was difference about stipends, it should be determined by the testimony of four named in Mr Gillespie's orders, which the parliament had expressly abolished." In consequence of the said party clause being

inserted, the resolutioners became so clamorous that it is doubtful if any letter was communicated at all.

While the disputes of the Scottish church were perplexing the Protector, the parliament, the army, the presbyterians, and the independents of England, and were in no degree diminished by their united wisdom; they continued to disturb the peace of ecclesiastical society at home, to frustrate the efforts of ministers for the public good, and to render their church the laughing-stock of the world around. The planting of churches was continually accompanied with the most unseemly party scrambles, and the manifestoes of both factions are replete with charges of immorality and of evil management against their opponents.

Sharp returned from London in December 1657, and met a most cordial reception from his friends, who were convened in considerable numbers, and some of them from remote distances to receive his report. "He gave us," says Baillie, "a very notable relation of every passage, how by the good hand of God, he had got all the designs of the exceeding busy and bold remonstrants defeated; that the Protector had dismissed him with many good words, assuring he should be loath to grant any thing to our prejudice." It is evident that Cromwell was still becoming more favourable to the resolutioners, and had he survived long, he might in all probability have made them converts to his government. By friendly salutations he endeavoured to soothe their leaders; and Baillie mentions the fact to his principal correspondent, with evident indications that the favour of his highness was an odour highly acceptable to them.

The general failure of their deputation at London, must have been keenly felt by the protesters. Although they had been kindly received by the Protector, and were not dismissed without professions of attachment as well as promises of continued support, they must have seen that, having spent so long time

and employed every effort in their power to so little purpose, there was little reason to hope that they could be able to maintain the contest with their opponents. There was not, however, any sudden reaction calculated to suppress them or to produce any direct additional resistance to their movements. It was a part of Cromwell's policy to balance parties so as to prevent such a preponderance as might prove destructive to any of them.

The resolutioners, encouraged by the report of Sharp respecting the success of his personal influence at court, and the effect of the pamphlet he had published, proceeded to give another exhibition through the Scottish press, for the purpose of convincing the people in general of their pacific disposition, and of holding up their opponents to the world as the sole cause of the continued schism. Mr Wood, now principal of the old college of St Andrews, was requested to draw up what they entitled, "A Declaration of the Brethren who are for the established government of this church, expressing their earnest desires of union and peace with their Dissenting Brethren."¹ In a short time the "Declaration" appeared, and if possible it surpasses all its predecessors in the peacefulness of its pretensions. "We have not from time to time forborne to seek peace, and pursue it upon any terms that might be consistent with the simple freedom of our own judgment in the matters controverted, and with the being of presbyterial government." Still there is much in the pamphlet, that could not fail to sting the protesters, and to stimulate them to reply in terms of acrimonious animadversion. After dilating for a little on their own ardent and unwearied exertions for peace, the following is the first sentence of the *pacific overture* respecting the protesters. "We are sorry we have so much to complain of our brethren, that they should not only

¹ Baillie, ii. 423.

have begun a needless rent in this church, upon a question so extrinsick to our doctrine, worship, and government; but since they have so notably injured us in our persons and ministry, by casting so many foul reproaches upon us both by word and write at home and abroad, that so they might make us hateful, and purchase credit and power to^r their own party; whereby also they have endeavoured to render this national church odious in the eyes of the world, and exposed her to be a laughing-stock to all her enemies on all hands, and furnished them with weapons (if their foul slanders deserved to have credit) whereby to fight against her, and justify their opposition to her, when her own children bear such witness against her.”¹ The whole proceedings of the protesters are represented as a reckless attempt to subvert the government of the church. It assumes as the basis of the whole fabric, what was principally disputed, that the government of the church of Scotland was still in the possession of the resolutioners; their cause and that of lawful church government are identified; and in opposing them the protesters opposed the laws of Christ. The proposals offered by the protesters in the conference of 1655, and lately made by them to the Protector at London, are condemned as an impious attempt to supplant the institutions of the church of Christ. Their complaints and grievances are all treated as utterly factious and unfounded. Having read them such a severe lecture upon their conduct, the pamphlet concludes with an earnest exhortation “to lay aside prejudices and animosities, and to cease from all irregular practices, and all things tending to hold up divisions and widen the breach,” and cordially unite with their brethren in the work of God, and in following the things that make for peace and edification.

¹ A Declaration of the Brethren, &c. pp. 4-11. Edinburgh, 1658.

The pamphlet had been got up as if it were merely the production of an individual; yet it appeared as a "Declaration of the Brethren who are for the established government and judicatories of this church, expressing their earnest desires of union and peace with their Dissenting Brethren." The very title and the whole tenour of the tract were regarded by the protesters as a tirade of misrepresentation, abuse, and bitter hostility; and in their account, it was the more to be detested for its whining professions of religion, and its feigned pretensions to peace. It was addressed to them as an overture of peace, while in point of fact it was a new declaration of war; and its plain intention was either to induce the protesters to renounce and deplore their past contendings for the purity and preservation of the presbyterian church, or to brand them in the view of the world as holding strange doctrine, and as irreclaimable in their practices of schism and subversion.

The "Declaration of the Brethren," above noticed, called forth a reply, in the shape of a duodecimo, under the title of "Protesters no Subverters, and Presbytery no Papacy." It does not profess to be a public or judicial document of the protesters, but the anonymous production of an individual, and it states, as a reason for this, that the "Declaration" was, after all its pretensions, no more than a private production, published before it was seen or even heard of by many resolutioners, and even by some of their presbyteries. Referring to the treaty of union proposed by the "Declaration," the writer says, "We hope that no man of an impartial judgment will think that the protesting brethren can otherwise entertain such a treaty of union and peace, that is the efflux of so bitter and unpeaceable a spirit, than with deep silence and just contempt, unless they would betray their own innocence, and the justness of the cause which they do maintain, by treating a peace upon such persuasives and foundations as do all along

heighten division and build up war.”¹ The most of the book is employed in repelling the charges of opposition to ecclesiastical government and authority, which their opponents strenuously endeavoured to fasten upon them, and to explain the nature of that subjection to church courts which is required in the word of God, and in accordance with the doctrine of the protestant churches. The author insists that they had offered no opposition to ecclesiastical courts, beyond what was necessary for asserting their freedom, and of saving them from such corruptions as alter their character and pervert them to purposes of spiritual tyranny. The resolutioners had subverted ecclesiastical government by packing Assemblies, excluding from them the faithful of the land, and passing iniquitous and oppressive sentences ; and the protesters having asserted the nullity of such Assemblies, and done their utmost to obtain free and faithful judicatories, ought not to have been represented as the subverters, but were entitled to the respect due to the genuine supporters of the laws of Christ and of the government of his house. The resolutioners are also found guilty of demanding implicit obedience to ecclesiastical and fallible authority, and of claiming, as essential to church government, submission to all its decisions, whether right or wrong,—a doctrine uniformly disclaimed by protestants, and found only among the arrogant pretensions of popery. Like the other publications on that controversy, that under review concludes with a call to the Christian people to esteem the party whose cause it pleads, to be such “as stand fast for the defence of the truth, and are seeking and pursuing such an union and peace as may not be for the destruction but for the preservation of the *truth* and *cause of God*, which they conceive themselves bound to maintain and tender before their own persons and ministry.”² The spirit of these

¹ Protesters no Subverters, p. 6. Edin. 1658. ² Ibid., p. 118.

pamphlets may be regarded as a pretty correct index of the mutual hostility which animated both parties in the whole tenour of their relative managements. And yet, apart from this unhappy controversy, there was unquestionably a great amount of good on both sides : there were many ministers alike distinguished for personal and for public excellence, with a vitality and an energy in the Christianity of the people, far surpassing what is to be found generally among us in the present time. But such a stormy contention could not fail to produce a blighting effect upon the spiritual vineyard. Exposed to the withering influences of ecclesiastical strife, and to the influx of malignants, which ensued on opening the sluices that had been erected by preventive acts of state, the Church of Scotland did not now flourish as formerly, and it was observed by many that the defection made more rapid advances immediately before the restoration.

We have already observed that the resolutioners endeavoured to soften the yoke which Cromwell had imposed upon them, and, by crouching under his power and courting his favour, sought to render their condition as comfortable as possible. Some, however, of the more devoted royalists regarded such compliances with disapprobation. Baillie informs us that he endeavoured to restrain those of his brethren who were disposed to form more intimate alliances with the usurper. Such caution on the part of the leading resolutioners proceeded from various causes. Their affections still clung to their unfortunate prince ; nor did they entirely abandon the hope that his prospects would yet brighten. The success of Cromwell had certainly been very astonishing ; yet his government exhibited few symptoms of stability ; its foundations were sandy, and its whole structure was composed of such materials, and constructed in such a manner as rendered it extremely precarious in a season of public commotion. His grasping ambition for all the

essentials of monarchy, and his daring stretches of arbitrary power, so completely unmasked the hypocrisy of his former professions, that those politicians who had once admired him, and contributed liberally to his elevation, now began to detest his person, and to undermine, if not openly to assail, his authority. Even the army, in which he acquired his fame, and found the means of gratifying his ambition, did not continue the same efficient support to the Protector which it had formerly yielded to the General.

To consolidate his government, the Protector formed a scheme of assuming the title of king, entertaining the hope, that by an exhibition of royal dignity, he would soon unite as many royalists, presbyterians, and others, as were necessary to secure the stability of his throne. Aware of the great delicacy of such a step, he proceeded with the utmost caution, and after the measure was mooted by some of his friends in parliament and became public, the opposition made to it and its manifest hazard were so great, that he was persuaded to abandon his intention. But in order to save appearances, the Protector summoned the house to meet him at Whitehall, and declined the crown with every expression of humility. The officers of the army were most active in defeating the measure; and the major-generals in particular, who had been deprived of their power as governors over districts, resented their degradation, by indignantly declaiming against the proposals made in honour of the Protector.

It could not long escape the penetration of a sagacious observer, that the government of Cromwell embodied the elements of its own dissolution. His embarrassments were in no degree diminished by the new parliament, which he summoned and packed for his own purposes. Having given and received some concessions, he was indeed inaugurated anew with great pomp; but after sustaining an interminable conflict with the commons for about fifteen months, he found

it necessary to abolish this parliament also. In his speech, he called God to witness, "that he had rather chosen at a wood side to have kept sheep, than undertaken the office he had, if the love of the people's peace had not constrained him."

The few remaining months of Cromwell were disturbed by rumours of conspiracies against his person and government, and many other causes of danger and perplexity. But while many had become clamorous against his usurpation, some plotting against his life, others planning new forms of government, and the royalists raising their dejected countenances, the Protector was rather suddenly called away beyond their reach. He died on the 3d of September 1658, a day of the year which he had been accustomed to regard as peculiarly propitious, it being the anniversary of his victories at Dunbar and Worcester.

It would be foreign to our present purpose to attempt any particular investigations of the character of this extraordinary man. The reader of general history finds no name attached to greater contrarieties of delineation than that of Cromwell. This diversity of colouring is partly owing to the strong impressions of favour or of aversion which the subject is calculated to awaken in the mind of the writer. If a man be susceptible of deep impressions or capable of strong feeling on the subject of religion or politics, Cromwell's is a character very much calculated to produce and excite them. The republican and latitudinarian can scarcely contemplate many traits of his character without being in the highest degree enraptured; while the royalists, the keen supporters of prelacy, and the zealous advocates of presbytery are, on various accounts, equally ready to be moved with indignation. Besides, there is in his character so much of the doubtful, his professions of religion and attachment to liberty are so much exposed to suspicion by flagrant practical contradictions, that persons may be expected to approve or condemn, to praise

or blame according to their peculiar and party views. Whether we contemplate him at the head of the army, or at the helm of government, it must be admitted that he possessed great talents; and that his powers were peculiarly adapted to the times in which he lived, and to the circumstances in which he was placed. He possessed a profound acquaintance with human character, and could manage parties of the most repugnant sentiments, so as to render them subservient to his own purposes. And whether he was sincere in his religion or not, the professions which he made certainly contributed in no small degree to his temporal aggrandisement; they gave him a control of the religious sectaries, which enabled him to turn their enthusiasm to the best account for the achievement of his military conquests, and the success of his political measures.

His government was a continued usurpation, and in many passages deeply characterised by the arrogant and oppressive manifestations of arbitrary power. Professing liberty, he practised despotism in all the departments of government. Yet seldom has arbitrary power been exercised with so much moderation, and consulted the public good so well as it did when in the possession of Cromwell. Although he gave examples of severity, and committed acts of wanton cruelty and oppression, there was a general mildness in his administration, and the tenour of it was directed to the public good. In the state of parties at that time, there would, in all probability, but for his preventive influence, have been much more injury inflicted upon the country in general. He raised the reputation of Britain abroad, and he encouraged literature, art, and commerce at home. Justice, except in cases where his authority was called in question, and where he suspected his person to be in danger, was impartially administered, the majesty of law generally acknowledged, and the calendar of crime greatly diminished.

It is much to be lamented that he did not support, and endeavour to perfect the uniformity of religion which had been auspiciously attempted in the three kingdoms, and which all ranks had bound themselves by the most sacred engagements to prosecute; that instead of employing his example and great influence for the settlement of Christianity upon a scriptural basis, he encouraged a motley sectarianism, and, by pompous professions of liberality, acted a part fitted to unsettle the public mind, and to carry many astray to the etherial regions of fanaticism. But with all his defects, foibles, and absurdities, it would be very uncandid in speaking of him to overlook either many personal and domestic virtues, or the public efforts he made in behalf of religion. In his private life he was sober, temperate, affectionate, devout; and his domestic arrangements form a striking contrast with the profane levity and disgraceful licentiousness that characterized the court after the restoration. His interposition in the cause of the poor persecuted Vaudois has often been referred to as justly deserving of the highest praise. This simple, honest, faithful people, who had been long honoured to bear witness to the truth, in opposition to its perversion by the Popish church, and in spite of its most cruel and inveterate resistance, were exposed to a bloody persecution from the duke of Savoy. By the report of it the commiseration of Cromwell was so much awakened, that he despatched an ambassador to the courts of France and Turin, with a remonstrance on the subject, and an urgent petition to put a stop to the persecution, and to grant the Vaudois full liberty to serve the God of their fathers. At the same time, at his instance, a collection was made through the kingdom for the relief of their necessities, with such success, that it amounted to the sum of L.38,097.¹

¹ Harris' Life of Cromwell, 398.

CHAPTER IV.

Richard Cromwell succeeds his father—new parliament—its proceedings and dissolution—council of officers—addresses of resolutioners and protesters to Richard—death of Durham—Warriston a counsellor of state—Sharp dispatched to oppose him—Hutcheson's review of "Protesters not Subverters." Quakers and sectarians in Scotland—their "petition"—movements for restoration of Long Parliament—Richard's resignation—reaction in favour of the royalists—Parliament endeavours to remodel the army—controversy about public resolutions prosecuted with less ardour—general review of that controversy—insurrection of royalists disconcerted and suppressed—ambition of Lambert—his endeavours to embarrass the parliament—termination of Long Parliament—desperate-like circumstances of Charles—General Monk—marches his army south—Lambert's forces desert him—Monk enters London—his appearance and address in parliament—Sharp returns to London—his instructions and reception—City of London opposes parliament, and is reduced to subjection by Monk—he then espouses the cause of the city—restores the ejected members, and compels parliament to dissolve, and at length intimates his intentions of restoring the king—correspondence of Sharp with Church of Scotland—his ambiguous conduct—sincerity of Douglas for the best interests of the church—new parliament meets—Sharp and others repair to Breda—King's letter to parliament—Restoration—treachery of Sharp.

THE death of the Protector being unexpected both by himself and the nation, no formal arrangements were made in reference to his successor; but his secretary Thurloe, and his chaplain Dr Goodwin, said, that when asked in his last moments if he wished his eldest son to succeed him, he had intimated such to be his desire. Richard was accordingly proclaimed, and welcomed with an enthusiasm similar to the

demonstrations usually made at the accession of a young prince to the throne of his ancestors. Professions of the warmest attachment were addressed to him in great numbers ; and he was honoured with embassies of condolence and of friendship from foreign courts. The sudden demise of his father produced such a deep impression upon the mind of all parties, that it was some time before they resumed complaints and conflicts so as to make Richard feel the difficulties and the perils of the protectorate. For some months there was a continued calm, and some imagined that he was already seated more firmly than his predecessor had been. But the elements were disordered, and it was the calm that precedes and even portends a storm. Richard had not the training nor the calibre necessary for a situation, the anxieties and dangers of which had even shaken the iron nerves of his father ; and the change of affairs was now such as demanded still greater strength and skill of management than he possessed. But the son did not inherit either the father's talents or his prominent defects. Endowed with common-place qualities, equally unacquainted with the camp and with the cabinet, and a stranger to public life, he was, in inclination, habit, and ability, qualified only to adorn the more private walks of society, and there to gain and support the good opinion of all to whom he might be known.

For a considerable time the public expenditure had considerably exceeded the revenue, and, in consequence of military enterprises, naval expeditions, and national improvements, the exchequer was completely drained, and the government involved in considerable embarrassment. It was therefore indispensably necessary to convene a parliament, an expedient which could not fail to discover the true state of parties, and to manifest what spirit they were of. The Protector, apprehensive of the consequences of a free election, refused to venture himself upon

the good affection of his people, but reverted to the old practice, in the hope that by the influence of his friends in rotten burghs, he might muster as much support in parliament as would enable him to carry his measures. The returns from Scotland were more complete than they had been since the union; and Argyll, and a number of royalists, were elected, the weight of whose influence was intended to counterpoise the republicans in parliament. Agreeably to custom, they commenced with an investigation of grievances, and were proceeding with such a high hand in impugning the Protector's authority, and in restricting his prerogative, that he was in danger of being unseated at once, and the whole fabric of government dissolved. Oliver had entertained a purpose of remodelling the army, but he was too prudent to divulge it until the proper time for execution; while Richard, insensible of his danger in that quarter, was persuaded by a cabal at Wallingford House, the residence of Fleetwood, to convene a council of officers for the purpose of enabling him to control the parliament; and, ere he was aware, he put it in the power of these officers to control himself, or to cast him off at their pleasure. This military convention, conscious of their own strength, and convinced that, unless the direction of public movements were changed, they would certainly issue in the restoration of the Stuarts, resolved that the army should be entrusted to some one in whom they could all safely confide. And for this purpose they presented a petition to Richard, who communicated it to the parliament. The parliament, alarmed at the demands of the army, addressed themselves to the hopeless task of concerting measures for reducing it to subjection; but the council of officers successfully anticipated them by importuning the Protector to dissolve the parliament until they obtained his consent. The dissolution accordingly took place on April 23, 1659.

It does not appear that the recent political movements produced any very remarkable change upon the church or upon the state of religious parties in Scotland. The same lamentable divisions and bitter contention which arose about the commencement of Cromwell's power in that kingdom, remained after it knew him no more. We are not informed that he took any particular interest in either party after the return of the protesters' deputation and of Sharp from London.

Both parties sustained an unspeakable loss by the death of Mr James Durham, one of the ministers of Glasgow, which happened in June 1658. The character of Durham will never fail to awaken a peculiar interest in every mind alive either to the excellence of religious principle or to all that is praise-worthy in personal and public conduct. He was descended from the ancient and honourable family of Grange Durham, in the county of Angus; and, after receiving a liberal classical education, he lived some years as a private gentleman, was married to a lady of eminent piety, and in a short time himself became the subject of a remarkable change. Formerly he had been satisfied with that common moral propriety of conduct which constitutes respectability in the eye of the world; but he now devoted his whole soul to the service of God, and to the study of the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven,—so much so that he literally, in many instances, “forgot to eat his bread.” During the civil wars he held a captain's commission, and was accustomed to pray at the head of his company, with remarkable evidences both of grace and of gifts. Mr David Dickson of Glasgow, on one occasion passing the army, heard captain Durham engaged, with his men, in prayer to God, and was so much impressed that he took him aside, and solemnly charged him, “that as soon as this piece of service was over, he should devote himself to serve God in the holy ministry; for to that he judged the Lord

called him.”¹ On the field of battle, Durham's horse was shot under him, and when an English soldier was prepared to strike him down with his sword, it occurred to him that Durham was a minister from the gravity of his appearance, and on asking, “Are you a priest?” Durham replied, “I am one of God's priests.” For this his life was spared. In gratitude to his Divine preserver, Mr Durham devoted himself to the study of theology, and became one of the most distinguished ministers in his day. He was neither a protester nor a resolutioner; but he was highly esteemed by both parties, and exerted his influence for the laudable purpose of restoring the peace, though his endeavours were attended with little success. When the synod of Glasgow divided, both parties elected him as their moderator; but he declined to accept the honour from either of them. Their unseemly contentions could not fail to affect deeply such a mind as Durham's. The gravity of his character was so profound and uniform that it was not easy for him to divest himself of it so as to engage in those pleasing repartees, which, by unbending the mind, have often proved a relief to the best of men. On one occasion, Mr William Guthrie became so humorous as to affect the risibility of Durham, who, in a little, seemed hurt at what had occurred. It being the custom of the family to engage in prayer after dinner, Mr Guthrie was employed, and proceeded with a fervour which astonished all present; after which, Mr Durham embraced him and said, “O William, you are a happy man; if I had been so merry as you have been, I could not have been in so serious a frame for prayer for the space of forty-eight hours.” His publications, which are many, continue to praise him; they display a maturity of judgment and of general excellence, which lead the reader to suppose that he had been a father of fully

¹ Scots Worthies, 174.

three-score, while, in point of fact, he was removed in the thirty-sixth year of his age.¹

Soon after the accession of Richard to the protectorate, we find that both the resolutioners and protesters made their addresses to him, and eagerly solicited his patronage for their own respective purposes. Warriston, who had been called to the house of peers by the late Protector, was now, through the influence of Sir Henry Vane, admitted to the council of state, and intrusted with the chief management of Scottish affairs. The resolutioners, fearing that none of the Scottish commissioners would faithfully represent the Church of Scotland, or resist the endeavours of Warriston to promote the protesters to that ascendancy after which they aspired, appointed Sharp to return to London to watch his movements, and if possible to counteract his party measures. This insidious courtier soon obtained access to the Protector, and, according to Baillie, was highly respected both by his highness, and by sundry members of parliament. He had not remained long in London, till, falling under suspicion of correspondence with Massey and Titus, two active emissaries of Charles lately arrived in England, he was, at the instance of Warriston, delated before the council, where he acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of Sir Henry Vane and Mr Scott, who were appointed to examine him, that "in a little after he was sent home in peace." The time of Richard's power being but short, his circumstances very embarrassing, and his acquaintance with the Church of Scotland very limited, there was nothing done during his administration materially to affect the relative prospects of the protesters and of the resolutioners.

These parties, however, did not desist from mutual hostilities. The late publication entitled "Protesters

¹ Scots Worthies. Preface to Durham's Exposition of the Revelations, by John Carstairs.

not Subverters," being extensively circulated, had received more attention than was gratifying to the resolutioners; and soon called forth a rather long and elaborate reply, which, as Baillie informs us, was from the pen of Mr Hutcheson, assisted by Mr Wood. In this document there is certainly no abatement of that bitterness which had all along characterized this controversy, and which could not fail to defeat every negociation for peace. It is entitled, "A Review and Examination of a Pamphlet lately published, bearing the title of Protesters not Subverters;" and, like the other publications formerly referred to, it is more to be regarded as the demonstration of the party, than of the person named as its writer. To prepossess the mind of the reader against the protesters, he compares and classes them with the Arminians that remonstrated against the decision of the synod of Dort, and whose heterodoxy has generally been held as notorious, especially among the presbyterians of Great Britain. There is in the publication an attempt to prove that the protesters had copied from the Arminian remonstrants, and that their objections to General Assemblies are the very same that the Arminians had pled and published against the synod of Dort. While the author animadverts on many particulars in the publication he professes to review, endeavours to answer objections, and to refute arguments in detail, the two topics on which he dwells at greatest length, and in the treatment of which he makes the greatest effort, are the proposals made by the protesters for the appointment of a committee, including an equal number of each party, for the settlement of disputed causes, particularly discipline, the induction of ministers, and endowments. The other and rather the more prominent subject of discussion, is the nature and extent of ecclesiastical authority in cases where the courts are believed to be wrong. On the one subject, there is scarcely any thing that had not been advanced in

¹ Letters, ii. 424.

former publications, except a greater degree of diffusion. But in the other he meets the subject very directly, and he brings out a very tangible difference of sentiment between the protesters and resolutioners on the doctrine of subjection due to ecclesiastical authority, which we may briefly examine.

The protesters contended from the Scripture, and from the confessions of the reformed churches, as well as from the writings of distinguished individuals, that subjection to all human authority is limited, and can be lawfully rendered no farther than that authority is exercised agreeably to the word of God. They considered that to act otherwise is to commit sin, by giving positive countenance to evil ; and they shewed that an implicit subjection to human authority, is among the impious absurdities of popery, and of other systems of error and imposture. The resolutioners, again, in the pamphlet before us, indignantly repel the charge of popery, and of every thing like lording it over the consciences of men ; but, at the same time, they maintain, that if submission to any ecclesiastical court be due, no longer than a person considers its decisions in all things to be right, then ecclesiastical authority must soon come to an end. In the present state of things the individual and the social proceedings of men are all imperfect ; and as the doings of ecclesiastical courts are not exempted, if we submit at all to the authority of courts composed of imperfect creatures, we must submit to decisions marked with imperfection, and there are cases in which it is our duty to submit, although convinced that the decision of the court is erroneous. But such a submission is not required in “articles of faith, in worship, nay, nor rules of discipline ; for,” said they, “in all these we are agreed, and through mercy they are established among us. We only plead, that in the matter of applying agreed-to rules of discipline, to particular persons and cases, there must be a subordination and submission observed ; and that in

the matter of inflicting censures on officers or members, or of judging of the call of ministers according to these agreed-to rules." Having laid down a number of restrictions, the submission meant is clearly stated. "In pleading for submission in matters of sentences, as is above qualified, we do not urge that men in conscience should approve of all and every one of these sentences as just; but only that they submit and suffer, or be passive (having done duty and exonerated themselves) without counteracting. And that because, however they count them unjust, yet (they looking through the prospect of passion and interest) may be deceived. The judge thinks them just, and it may be many others, yea, by all except the parties concerned. However it be, yet it is better one or a few persons suffer somewhat, than that a schism be made in an orthodox and well-settled church." "This being the true state of the question, and indeed a safe remedy appointed by God, that when men in a church cannot in conscience obey a command, they may with a good conscience submit and suffer; for the Lord commanding us to *submit*, and our engaging thereunto, doth import there may be cases wherein we cannot give *active obedience*."¹ They grant every person the privilege of dissent and appeal from unjust sentences of the kind referred to, but they insist that such exoneration should be deemed satisfactory, and ought to be accompanied by submission. Some of the reasonings employed are very interesting, and might be of great utility were they better known. "In an unjust sentence, albeit judges have no warrant or authority from God, to do that act, and it is null before him; nor doth it oblige the conscience by virtue of the matter of it; yet so long as they continue the standing authority of a church, somewhat is due to them relative to that authority, and that is submission." In that case, it is shown we *obey* God, but *submit* to courts, not in

¹ Review and Examination, &c. p. 104-114. Edin., 1659.

the way of consenting to what is wrong, for it is our duty to make the most solemn and decided protestation against what is evil in the highest court among men.

These statements and distinctions are of great importance, and ought to be attended to, especially by such as may be aggrieved by the mal-administration of discipline. But the subject is one of great delicacy, and is liable to be perverted to the protection of ecclesiastical tyranny. The great difficulty lies in the application of the doctrine to particular cases, and in the practical fixing of its boundaries. For although it be the bounden duty of the subjects of ecclesiastical authority to bear with the imperfections of that authority, and even with some acts that are iniquitous and oppressive, it is evident that such a forbearance hath its limits both in respect of frequency and of extent. If the mal-administration be more than rare exceptions from a general rule, if it be an oppressive act permanently affecting the public cause, and not merely the persons of men, and if it be connected with other links in a series of defections, then would it be sinful to give place by subjection even for an hour.

The resolutioners boasted of their success in proving the protesters erroneous in the doctrine of the subjection due to ecclesiastical authority. But although the latter had not been sufficiently guarded when they maintained the general principle "that a person can never be bound to submit to a wrong decision," it is more than probable they would have consented to the above statements, and admitted that when a wrong sentence affects merely personal interests, we ought to bear with it rather than break the peace of the church. They denied, however, and not without reason, that the decisions against them were so much of a personal as of a public kind. They were so identified with the public cause, that though directed against them, they fell upon it. They could not submit to these censures without practically ceasing

to condemn the public resolutions, and by consequence giving a tacit consent to all the defections connected with these unfortunate measures. It is therefore evident, that the resolutioners gained nothing by shewing that there are cases in which persons are bound to submit to the unjust decisions of church courts, unless they could have shown also that the proceedings of the commission and Assemblies complained of by the protesters were no more than mere private and personal matters. The most personal part of the whole was the censures inflicted; and a deliverance from these was frequently proffered in order to peace; but as the protesters could not, in conscience, resile from the high ground they had taken against the public resolutions, (the only condition on which the removal of the censures was tendered,) they could not avail themselves of the concession. There was as yet no reconciliation. It is very evident from all that remains of this controversy in pamphlets, in the letters of Baillie, and in the brief references occurring in the histories of the period, that the breach was in no degree diminished during the protectorate; that while both parties laid high claims to the name of peace-makers, their reciprocal and successive demonstrations all tended to embitter the struggle, and to render the prospect of peace more remote and hopeless than ever.

It has been formerly stated that the English sectaries made comparatively few converts in Scotland, and that our northern clime had never been sufficiently genial for a number of sects that had flourished in the south. But still there were some, chiefly quakers, that attracted a little notice, and made a few converts in different parts of the country. In 1659 they got up a petition against all civil establishments of religion, and for the special purpose of promoting the "*just liberties and gospel privileges of men.*" In order to counteract its influence, the presbytery of Edinburgh emitted a "Testimony and Warning"

against it. After lamenting the divisive and delusive proceedings of many in the country, they say, "of these practices we have of late met with a sad instance, (which calls us forth to give our testimony at this time), in that some, upon designs best known to themselves, have projected, and, as we have charity to believe, ensnared others to join with them in a *petition*, for making void and abolishing all civil sanctions establishing the doctrine, discipline, and government of the church, (the fruits of the many prayers and sad sufferings of the godly in this and former ages), that so they may enjoy a vast toleration and encouragement in embracing the vilest errors, which they are pleased to set off under the specious names of *just liberties* and *gospel privileges*." It is not directly affirmed in the "Warning" that the protesters gave any countenance to the petition, yet there are insinuations which had a tendency to lead to the suspicion that some of them were implicated. But such as know any thing of the sterling orthodoxy of this respectable class of presbyterians, will not require any proof to convince them that their principles continued as much opposed to the diverse and strange doctrines of the motley sects that subscribed the petition as light is opposed to darkness. In the warning pronounced against them we find among other of their errors the following articles:—"That the godly in this life are without sin; that the light whereby every one that cometh into this world is enlightened is not the light of nature, but a perfect light sufficient to save them who will follow it, yea, Christ himself; that it is not a natural man's duty to pray; that men are able to fulfil the law of God, and that it is a doctrine of devils to say that God commandeth that which they are not able to perform; that the Scriptures are not the word of God, but the declaration of the word, and the words."¹

¹ Testimony and Warning, &c., pp. 4-6. Printed at—— in 1659.

In the midst of these strifes, the disordered state of the political world portended radical and sweeping changes in all departments of civil and ecclesiastical affairs. The dissolution of parliament to which the Protector was led by the importunities of a general council of officers, did not in any degree diminish his difficulties; it even hastened the very crisis he was most anxious to avoid, and terminated in his own deposition. Some of the officers seemed for a time favourable to the confirmation of Richard's authority; but he must have been very ignorant of the state of affairs, if he imagined that the army would be generally disposed to support him in the enjoyment of prerogatives similar to those claimed by his father. It was not by the spontaneous choice or voluntary consent either of the army or of the people, that Oliver had held the office of protector. His success was the effect of a fortunate application of his own talents; and even he, in consequence of the jealousies of officers who had been once on a level with himself, the turbulence of republicans, and the vigilant and unwearied hostility of royalists, frequently found himself in imminent danger of being precipitated from the eminence to which he had with difficulty risen. But Richard had neither the talents necessary for supporting himself upon the giddy elevation where his father left him, nor was there any reason independent of his relation to Cromwell, why others could be expected to honour and defend him. If the officers were jealous of the father, and disposed to consider themselves entitled to an equal share of honour and of authority with him; it would certainly have been most credulous in the son to expect any permanent disposition to yield him the deference commonly accorded to a prince whose title to the throne of his ancestors is placed by long prescription and common consent above all dispute. A majority of officers strongly attached to the commonwealth, insisted upon the restoration of the Long Parliament; contending that,

as it could not be dissolved without its own consent, it was still in existence. Their arguments were seconded by petitions from various quarters, and a number of the surviving members began to show their importance. Richard, perceiving the manner in which the proposal was generally entertained, and aware that it amounted to a rejection of his pretensions to the protectorate, resigned his office, and returned to that private life which he should never have left.¹

The old parliament was accordingly restored in May. The republicans rejoiced in it as an escape from the despotism of the Cromwells; and it was hailed as the return of the liberty of former days. It is not, however, very certain, that the change was calculated to advance the cause of freedom. The republicans at this time contemplated a government by successive parliaments, chosen by the people, and of such limited duration, as was considered sufficient to prevent the corruption of preferring private interests to the public good. The Long Parliament had formerly contrived to keep themselves in power until they were dissolved by military force; and it might be expected, that having regained the supreme authority, they would endeavour to the utmost of their power to fill the public offices with friends, and soon find pretexts for the continuance of their own authority.

The embarrassing state of parties rendered it extremely difficult for the parliament to proceed. The public well remembered the arbitrary proceedings of this body when formerly in power, with the consequent usurpation of Cromwell; the hopes of forming a government sufficiently liberal and vigorous, became less sanguine; the ranks of the zealous republicans became gradually thinned; and there was a manifest and increasing reaction in favour of the ancient monarchy. The soldiers of the republic and of the pro-

¹ Brodie's History, iv. 433.

tectorate, feeling their own importance, and inflated with their own wisdom and influence both in church and state, had conducted themselves with an overbearing insolence so very offensive to the people, that it was fitted to create a desire for any government sufficiently strong to impose restraints upon an order of men, whose tyranny is of all others the most intolerable. The presbyterians of England, who flattered themselves, that in order to secure their support and to prevent their junction with the republicans, the royalists would willingly entrust them with a principal part in the management of public affairs, were prepared to exert their influence for the restoration of the exiled king. The resolutioners in Scotland, foreseeing that such a change would effectually turn the balance in their favour, and restore to them that ascendancy in the disposal of all the temporalities of the church, the loss of which they had keenly felt, looked forward to it as the consummation of their wishes. By the royalists such indications were hailed as the dawn of day after an hour of thick darkness; and, deriving from it life and vigour to their fainting hopes, they prepared themselves for new and chivalrous enterprises of loyalty.

Such were the principal elements in the opposition which the parliament had to encounter. Formidable as it was, the task would have been comparatively easy, if they could have confided in the good affection of the army. But experience had taught them that they had good cause for the most serious apprehensions of that quarter. It was the army that first packed the parliament for the execution of its own evil purposes against the king, and then dissolved it at its own pleasure. The army had set up one Cromwell, and put down another. And although it had recalled the Long Parliament, there was very little reason to expect, that the supreme authority could find any free and undisputed exercise in this assembly.

But all the opposition, powerful as it was, and their faint prospects of success, did not deter the parliament from an attempt worthy of the men whose former exploits had awakened the astonishment of the world. Justly conceiving that their greatest danger was likely to proceed from the army, they immediately addressed themselves to the delicate and difficult task of reducing it to a salutary state of subjection. For this purpose a council of state was nominated, and while great professions of respect were made to the officers, a number of them being elected members, the parliament made sufficient provision for neutralizing their influence, by giving civilians a majority of votes. Commissions to the army were henceforth to proceed in name of the parliament; the honour of lieutenant-general was conferred upon Fleetwood, and arrangements were made for filling up existing vacancies among the officers. At first every thing appeared to proceed under the most favourable auspices. The army was all submission; addresses were poured in from all quarters, professing congratulation, and promising abundant encouragement. And who so highly delighted as General Monk, now at the head of the army in Scotland! He declared "that the restoration in one day of that glorious cause, whose interest was laid low even in the dust, and when the assertors of it had so manifestly declined by a defection of many years, it could not be imputed to less than the greatest and most powerful manifestation of the arm of God that ever they or former generations had heard of. In the sense of this, the greatest of our temporal mercies, we now come to address your honours as those whose presence we have so long wanted, that, had you stayed a little longer, it might have been left to be enquired what England was, we mean what was become of that people by whom God for so many years filled the world with so much admiration and terror."

It does not appear that this parliament evinced

much interest in ecclesiastical affairs, or did any thing that materially affected the state of parties in Scotland. After the return of Sharp from London, there are very few traces of the controversy to be found; and it has, not without reason, been observed by some, that there was more abatement of contention in the year before the restoration than had appeared since the commencement of the unfortunate division. That was probably owing to the awfully portentous state of public affairs. Cromwell had left them in such a state of counterpoise that the one party could not very seriously injure the other. And since his death public movements had created a pause of suspense on both sides; they were equally uncertain which of them might be overwhelmed by the first blast of the gathering storm. It was even all uncertainty from what quarter the distempered elements were to burst forth, or upon what devoted object they were to exhaust their fury. It was doubtful whether republicans, military usurpers, or royalists, were to win the day,—whether resolutioners or protesters were to be patronized, or which of them were to be suppressed. They had both offended; their unseemly wrangling and bitter animosities had exposed the good cause in which they were embarked to the reproach of the enemy; they had not been warned and persuaded to be at peace among themselves, by the calls and remonstrances of scripture, enforced by many striking intimations of the divine will in the course of providence; and they had good reason to fear that some more searching ordeal was in preparation for them. It is melancholy to think that, although the fermentation produced by the public resolutions had now nearly subsided, and they were never again in circumstances to revive the quarrel in the old form, yet the union of the church was not restored; the root of bitterness still remained, ready to spring up and trouble them.

This may be considered the proper place for a few

reflections on that deplorable controversy, of which we have given the details, and on which we have dwelt at considerable length, from a conviction of its importance, both as having led to the first schism that had occurred in the Church of Scotland since the reformation, and from the resemblance which it bears, in many of its aspects, to present appearances in the religious world. The subject of controversy is certainly one of a very perplexing nature, and what the most of people are in great danger of misunderstanding, and of regarding at too low an estimate. In the present time a great majority of readers, and many of these possessed of considerable information, and capable of correct thinking on other subjects connected with ecclesiastical polity and common science, will rank it with the unintelligible subtleties and useless abstractions which have often proved the means of diverting men's attention from the great essentials of vital Christianity. And the specious reasonings of the resolutioners, in connection with occasional references to the subject occurring in most of our popular histories, will dispose many of those who form any opinion on the merits of the question, to take the part of the resolutioners, as the only reasonable men, to vindicate the public resolutions, and to brand the protesters as a set of gloomy fanatics, the absurdity of whose dogmas was only equalled by the presumption and hypocrisy of their professions. The leading proposition of the resolutioners, "That a king may warrantably call forth his subjects in a season of danger for the public defence, and particularly for repelling a foreign invader," is abstractly considered so like an axiom of geometry, or a first principle, that none, wishing the credit of common sense, will presume to deny it. It is one of those truisms which take such possession of the understanding that it is apt to preclude any farther investigation of the subject. The answer, too, which they gave to the common objection of their opponents, "that to admit malignants to offices of

power and trust was to endanger the ecclesiastical constitution," seems at first view to be triumphant. They denied that this could follow, for they maintained it was provided by special statute, that none were to be admitted but such as had satisfied the church, and been purged from scandal.

But, giving such considerations all the attention to which they are fairly entitled, we are, after all, fully satisfied that the protesters were more correct in point of sound principle than their opponents; and that they are entitled to the gratitude of posterity for their fidelity in appearing for their public vows, the purity of the house of God, and the cause of presbytery, while the resolutioners consented to expose all to the most imminent hazard. It is evident that the position which the protesters were called to occupy, was one of no ordinary kind; and those who partially consider all the circumstances of the case, will not hesitate to admit that their general procedure was marked with fidelity and consistency. It was right to oppose the admission of malignants into the army and the offices of state; because men of such principles would not fail to exert the influence of their office, for the overthrow of the second reformation. It was right to oppose them, for the presbyterians had pledged themselves to God and to one another, to endeavour the detection of malignants, and, by every means in their power, to frustrate their stratagems. It was no more than the demand of consistency to resist them, for the church had a few weeks before acknowledged the sin of giving countenance to malignants, and made solemn professions of amendment. The common reply to all this, is, "Oh, but the public resolutions provided for the admission of none but true penitents." True penitents evince the sincerity of their professions, not only by submission to rebuke, but by some manifest and satisfactory reformation of their conduct in general, and of those parts of it that may have been peculiarly offensive in

particular. But could this be said of the courtiers and followers of Charles? The example copied by the most of those admitted according to the public resolutions, was that of the king in swearing the covenants, and in professing sorrow for the sin of his father's house. Their demeanour in submitting to discipline, resembled more the mockery of the soldiers of Cromwell, who evinced their contempt for the presbyterian order by placing themselves upon the stool of repentance, than any thing like serious or sincere sorrow for sin. There was no previous change to give credibility to their professions, nor was there any improvement in their subsequent conduct. The task thus devolved on the protesters became one of peculiar delicacy. They were called to question the sincerity of men's professions, and to contradict the verdict of a great majority of their brethren; to do what seemed like judging of men's motives, and of intruding into what lies beyond the province of mortals. It was a difficult and hazardous part they were called to act. They were opposed by a large majority of ministers, including men of talent and principle, whose attachment to the truth had been tested, and whose name was, in the account of many, a sufficient guarantee to any measure with which they found it associated. They were exposed to arguments that were specious, powerful, and prepossessing,—to censures, to erroneous constructions, and virulent reproaches. Their resistance to the public resolutions was regarded by the king and his favourites in Scotland, and by a majority of those in rank and possessing great influence, as directed against them; and how discouraging and overbearing was the resentment to which they were exposed from heritors and officers, and the public-place-men through the country! The power of Cromwell, although usurped, and on many accounts reprehensible, was the means of shielding the protesters from sudden ruin, and of raising them to the external influence

they attained in the country; but they were, in countless instances, exposed to insult and persecution from men of property and public influence, against whom the power of Cromwell could afford no protection.

It is not affirmed that the protesters uniformly acted in the meekness of wisdom, or that they always conducted themselves in accordance with the dictates of prudence. To affirm that all their measures were at once contrived with consummate skill, and executed in every instance with most exemplary temper of mind, would betray gross partiality, as well as great ignorance of the true character of the controversy in which they were embarked. We do not think so highly either of the temper they displayed, or of a number of the measures they adopted. Knowing as they did the undoubted piety of many of their opponents, and their genuine attachment to the cause of reformation, we think the protesters should have commenced the controversy with less sweeping charges, and it is very probable that, had their remonstrances been more tempered with the spirit of charity, they would have found the resolutioners more disposed to reconsider the matter, and the whole controversy might have been softened, and, after a short season, happily terminated. None of the protesters possessed the qualifications necessary to commend him to that degree of confidence and influence among his brethren which are necessary for enabling one to act the part of a leader. Hence that want of harmony in their movements which sometimes exposed them to the reproach of their enemies. Had Mr George Gillespie been spared, he might have appeared at their head, and his wisdom and talents would have given such a direction and tone to their whole proceedings, as might have secured a more respectful hearing. Messrs James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, Samuel Rutherford, and Warriston, with many others, evinced ardent zeal in the cause, and the most of them were

distinguished for great piety and general excellence ; but there was not one among them like the princes and great men in Israel, whose wisdom and power had conferred upon them an indisputable ascendancy in the councils, and a leading direction in the movements of their brethren.

Their publications are, in point of talent, scarcely equal to those of their opponents. On a candid survey of the subject, it will appear, that in their zeal against the public resolutions, the protesters took too high ground respecting the Christian qualifications of soldiers. It is evident, from the tenour of their arguments and discussions, that they insisted on nearly as high Christian qualifications in candidates for the army as in candidates for the communion-table. They were quite right in contending that the admission of malignants into places of public influence, at that time, was a most unwarrantable exposure of the cause for which they had long contended, to the power of its inveterate enemies. But they carried their exclusive principles too far, when they laid it down as a general rule, that none but those who are united in the faith of the gospel, (and such is the amount of the doctrine they contend for,) may unite in defence of their country ; and when they adduced as decisive evidence such passages in the Old Testament as prohibited the Jews from forming martial alliances with the heathen.

But it is easy for us, in the enjoyment of freedom from the difficulties and provocations to which they were exposed, to impugn their proceedings. They are entitled to the honour of the faithful watchmen upon the walls of Zion, who are found at their post in the hour of their danger, and, on descrying the distant approach of the enemy, seasonably sound an alarm. And in spite of all the profane sneers to which their prayers and their sermons have been exposed from infidel historians, from episcopalians, and even from professed presbyterians, they were never

theless men of profound piety, and of disinterested zeal in the cause of their Divine Master. We have no sympathy with those who can despise fervent prayer to God, and ridicule the faithful applications of the word of life to saints and to sinners, merely on account of some peculiarity or paltry defect in the manner of its utterance. The truth is, that when a mind becomes very deeply impressed with the awful realities unfolded by the gospel, and when affected with that fear of God which characterizes the meeting of his saints, its spontaneous utterances will very frequently be in such accents as are offensive to the men of this world: and although Christians are often culpable in causing their good to be evil spoken of by the manner in which they perform it, this will not excuse any, and especially those professing to teach others, for perverting their powers of description, so as to render good men, and even religion ridiculous in the eyes of the world. But the evil on which we are animadverting, is of frequent occurrence. The terms employed to vilify the protesters on this head, are the very same that had formerly been used by episcopalians for the purpose of exposing to contempt the worthies of the second reformation, and which have been hackneyed by prelatic and presbyterian high churchmen ever since; and they will be regarded by all who respect religion, as the cant of men who are either opposed to every thing serious in the service of God, or who can endure religion no farther than it is fashioned, in its tones and gestures, and general manifestations, according to the taste and manners of this world.

There are, in the published remains of Guthrie, and Gray, and Rutherford, and of many others on the same side of the church, an unction and ardour, indicative of devotional sentiments the altitude of which few can appreciate, and the depth of which the most of professing Christians cannot sound. Than their writings, they need no other letters of commendation

to us, or epistles of commendation from us. Their published sermons, addresses, and testimonies afford most satisfactory evidence that they made full proof of their ministry, and were workmen not needing to be ashamed. Their different localities, nay, even the country in general, exhibited for their encouragement many seals of their Master's approbation; and wherever piety and Christian patriotism are soundly estimated, the memory of the protesters will be revered,—with all their defects they will be regarded as the faithful defenders of the city of God, at a time when a majority of their brethren most incautiously consented to open its gates for the admission of the enemy.

The resolutioners, who probably numbered nearly three-fourths of the Church of Scotland, included many of very high respectability in point of talent and literature, as well as piety and the other qualifications of ministers of the gospel. Such were Douglas, Blair, Baillie, Wood, Dickson, Hutcheson, and many others who acted a leading part in the controversy, and in the general management of ecclesiastical affairs. Many of them had been associated with Henderson, and had acted an honourable part in the counsels and conquests of the second reformation; and, after all the changes that had passed over the church since that period, it would be uncharitable to think that there was not still remaining among them a considerable portion of the same spirit that animated the men who will be ever honoured as the friends of ecclesiastical freedom. But in the excess of their charity for the king, in the ardour of their zeal for his promotion, and in the fondness of their hope of obtaining his sanction and support to the presbyterian interest, they were easily imposed on by Charles and his designing accomplices; and then, by the false step in reference to the public resolutions, they committed themselves to a new course that was calculated to lead them as a body into great defections from the

cause they had solemnly espoused. In the progress of their hostility to the protesters, and of their friendly intercourse with the malignant faction, the resolutioners became gradually marked with the features of that moderatism which has, since the revolution, assumed such prominence in the Church of Scotland, and the tendency of which is to degrade the church of Christ, by making her a bond-servant of the state, and to divest Christianity of its peculiar characteristics, as demanding for the object of worship the homage of the whole heart, and soul, and strength of man, while it disclaims all dependence upon our own righteousness and our own strength. Moderatism may have numbered good men in its ranks, but its effects as a system have been very pernicious ; its true votaries are destitute of that self-denial and uncompromising fidelity which become the ambassadors of heaven ; their aspirations are earthly, and while they proudly affect independence of men, and disdainfully refuse to the Christian people the liberty of citizens in Zion, their own sycophancy and servility in castles and palaces, and other places of obtaining preferment, have been surpassed by few if by any class among the aspirants of this world.

Few of the resolutioners had arrived at that stage of conformity to the world which can fairly be called moderatism ; but too many in that party had, before the restoration, reached even a higher latitude in its chilling regions than our charity disposes us to believe the moderates, since the revolution, have ever attained. With the exception of Sharp, the leaders of the party were not, on any consideration, disposed to abandon the cause of presbytery ; but of many others this could not be affirmed, otherwise they would never have so profaned the covenant and the crown of Christ, nor could they have stained their garments with the blood of the saints, as they did after the restoration.

In order to shew the way in which a complete

change was effected upon the whole civil and ecclesiastical institutions of the kingdom, it will be necessary to return to the Long Parliament, and give some sketch of the progress of political movements. The church, although not of this world, is in it; she is deeply affected by the political changes of the countries in which she resides; and this was never more manifest than at the restoration of the second Charles to the throne of his ancestors.

The good affection of the army to the parliament evaporated in a few hollow professions of congratulation and satisfaction. The officers, full of jealousy, and animated by a spirit of faction, were divided among themselves; and while a number, of whom every one considered himself entitled to the highest authority, pushed themselves forward, there was no prospect of a general and cordial submission to the authority of any of them. Taught by the example of Cromwell, and the history of recent events, to regard themselves not as the subjects but as the superiors of parliament, the officers were not prepared to acquiesce in the acts of the Long Parliament any farther than was compatible with their own party and personal purposes.

The division and disaffection of the army, with the many other public embarrassments, greatly weakened the government, rendering it equally unable to assert its own authority, and to preserve the public peace. The English royalists, who had for a considerable time been kept in check by the vigilant eye and powerful arm of Cromwell, began to revive. Their great adversary being removed, they deemed it a fit opportunity to rally their scattered and concealed forces, and, if possible, to prevent the confirmation of the power of a parliament whose former proceedings they well remembered as the principal source of all their misfortunes. Having in a number of counties adopted the resolution of betaking themselves to arms,

an extensive conspiracy was formed, and every preparation was commenced that was calculated to crown the enterprise with success. It was determined to rise in different places at the same time. Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Sir Horatio Townsend, undertook to seize Lynne; Lord Newport to seize Shrewsbury; Arundel and others Plymouth and Exeter; Nassay, Gloucester; Sir George Booth, Chester; and Sir Thomas Middleton, North Wales. The king, attended by the duke of York, had gone to Calais for the purpose of being prepared to embrace the first favourable opportunity of transporting himself into England, and of appearing at the head of his loyal subjects. To render his appearance the more animating to his friends, the court of France promised a small body of troops to accompany him. The conspiracy included many presbyterians, who, as formerly stated, entertained the hope that having helped the cavaliers to wrest the power from the hands of the republicans, they would then be able to carry into effect their own measures of ecclesiastical reform. But it was scarcely possible to conduct such an extensive conspiracy and to mature its preparations with all the secrecy which was indispensably necessary to its success. And in this case a disclosure was made by Sir Richard Willis, one of the conspirators, and many of his accomplices were apprehended. The only part of the project that was executed was the seizure of Chester by Sir George Booth. He was joined by Middleton, the earl of Derby, and some others, and in a short time he made himself master of a considerable district. Being a presbyterian, Booth did not proclaim the king as a royalist would have done; he only demanded a free parliament, and thus displayed a moderation very much fitted to conciliate a large body of his countymen.

This insurrection was speedily suppressed by Lambert, who, being dispatched by the parliament for

this purpose, fully justified the expectations they entertained from his military talents. The premature discovery of the conspiracy deprived Booth of the support he had confidently expected from his brethren, and his army was not at all fitted, either by numbers or by discipline, to enter the lists with the republicans. Accordingly, they did not sustain a single assault of the enemy. The cavalry, amounting to about eighteen hundred, including a considerable number of gentlemen, fled before they were charged, leaving the foot to be cut in pieces. Thus did the hope of deliverance, so far as it depended on their own arms, retire from the royalists to the same remote distance as before.

The victory over Booth was of little avail to the parliament, for Lambert soon proved himself to be a no less formidable opponent. The circumstances of this able and ambitious officer were now favourable for the execution of those purposes of personal aggrandizement which he had fondly cherished. The parliament, alive to their danger, endeavoured to conciliate his favour and to secure his support. A thousand pounds were voted as the reward of his services. But, feeling his importance, Lambert resolved to consult his own interests, and there can be little doubt that he now regarded himself as the legitimate successor of Cromwell. Instead of appropriating the money, as it was intended, for private purposes, he divided it among his men. Confiding in their support, Lambert then united with the officers in preparing a petition to parliament in name of the army, requesting that Fleetwood be appointed general, Lambert major-general, Desborough lieutenant-general of the horse, and Monk major-general of the foot. It was also petitioned that the corporations should be changed into some form more befitting a commonwealth, and that no officer should be dismissed from his command except by a court-martial. The petition was evidently constructed for the purpose of

vesting such a power in the army as would place it above the control of parliament, and thus again subject the country to a military government.

The arrogant petition of the army was received in parliament with indignation, and some members, relying on the support of Monk and the Scottish army, proposed to impeach Lambert of high treason. Fearing, however, to proceed at once to such rigorous measures, they cashiered a number of the officers, and resolved to vacate Fleetwood's commission, and to vest the command of the army in seven, of whom he was to be one. It was also voted that there should be no more general officers, and it was declared high treason to levy money without an act of parliament.

But, shorn of military support, the strength of the parliament had departed from it, and it was become weak as any small body of private men. Lambert now determined to put an end to their power, and collected the forces necessary for the execution of his purpose. Two regiments were prepared to oppose him; and in order to defend the parliament, they posted themselves in Palace-Yard. Lambert anticipated them by intercepting the Speaker and members on their way to the house, and by respectfully turning their coaches. In this easy way was the Long Parliament, or, as it was afterwards contemptuously termed, the Rump Parliament, brought to an end on the 13th of September.

The supreme power was thus regained by military usurpers; and had there been a man among the officers able to command their universal support, he might have raised himself to all that is substantial in regal greatness. But, divided among themselves, they could not agree to confer the supremacy upon any one; nor were they fitted for that cordial co-operation which is essential to the strength and success of those at the head of affairs in a season of danger. The soldiers, proud of their own importance, became

more licentious, and by their insolent behaviour rendered themselves more obnoxious to the people. The officers appointed a committee of twenty-three, including seven of themselves, under the title of a *Committee of Safety*. They also professed to make arrangements for summoning a new parliament elected on popular principles; but it was generally believed that all this was merely to preserve appearances, while in point of fact they were employing every mean for consolidating their own military usurpation.¹

Never had the circumstances of Charles appeared more desperate than now, on the very eve of his restoration to the throne of his ancestors. On the failure of all the enterprises of his friends, he had resolved to implore the interposition of France and Spain, and had gone to the Pyrenees for this purpose. He gained nothing, however, beyond empty professions of respect and protestations of readiness to serve him as soon as it was in their power. "The condition," says Hume, "of that monarch to all the world seemed totally desperate. His friends had been baffled in every attempt for his service; the scaffold had often streamed with the blood of the more active royalists; the spirits of many were broken with tedious imprisonments; the estates of all were burdened with the fines and confiscations which had been levied upon them; no one durst openly avow himself of that party; and so small did their number seem to a superficial view, that, even should their nation recover its liberty, which was deemed nowise probable, it was judged uncertain what form of government it would embrace."

It is evident, from the history of the church and of the world, that great revolutions have generally been effected by the instrumentality of a very few, and that they may sometimes be traced to the management and influence of one man. Britain was now to

¹ Brodie, iv. 444; Hume, ii. 746.

be changed from a commonwealth to an absolute monarchy; and the man to whom this change is chiefly to be attributed is General Monk. The presbyterian church of Scotland was now to be overthrown, and an Erastian hierarchy was to be erected in its room; and the leading actor in this revolution was Mr James Sharp. These important national events being closely connected with the restoration of Charles to the throne of his ancestors, it is necessary that the reader, in order to understand either of them, be acquainted with the manner in which that restoration was accomplished. The prominent part acted by Monk, creates in the mind a desire for some acquaintance with his character and history.

George Monk was descended from an ancient and respectable family in Devonshire; but owing to the recent reverses of his friends, he was left to his own efforts, and, entering the army in early life, was employed in the unfortunate expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhee. After the establishment of peace in his native country, he went to the continent, and, improving his military experience, was in a short time promoted to the command of a company, in the Low Countries, under colonel Goring. His company being of considerable consequence, including not a few gentlemen of family and fortune, it is manifest that the military talents of Monk were esteemed as of a superior order.

Soon after the commencement of the civil war, Monk returned to England, and, joining the royal standard, fought under it in Ireland and in England until the siege of Nantwich, where the royalists were defeated by Fairfax, and Monk was taken prisoner. He was then committed to the Tower, and underwent an imprisonment of two years. When the conquest of the royalists was nearly completed, Monk was restored to liberty, and, consulting his interest more than his honour, he enlisted with Cromwell, and was, for a number of years, more distinguished in the service of the commonwealth than he had ever

been any where else. Had he died before the restoration, Monk would have been regarded by the royalists as a notorious renegade, and they would have depicted his character in the very darkest colours; but his services at this period have been accepted as more than a complete expiation of all his crimes. The fulsome panegyric employed by Hume for the purpose of exhibiting Monk as a hero and a patriot, is very characteristic of the gross inconsistency and glaring partiality which disfigure the writings of that able and artful historian. To his intimate and discerning acquaintances, Monk must have appeared all along as a very doubtful character indeed. Cool and calculating, he was one that would not scruple to sell his services to the highest bidder; and although he was not equally indifferent about the various systems of civil and ecclesiastical polity which then engrossed the public mind, and produced a fermentation in the whole mass of society, he could, when it served his purpose, be either kind or cruel, and could act either the canting hypocrite, whose professions were those of the warmest enthusiasm, or the high churchman, the temperature of whose piety does not surpass that of the coldest day in winter. And yet his panegyrists depict him as a pattern of sincerity, the personification of honesty, whose "established character for honesty and sincerity" was sufficient to save him in the most suspicious circumstances.¹

Since the conquest of Scotland by the English, Monk had been for the most part at the head of the army in that kingdom; and, knowing the importance of gaining the cordial attachment of his soldiers, he successfully endeavoured to ingratiate himself among them, and to secure their support in any enterprise in which he might find it necessary to embark for his own aggrandizement. While he professedly supported the government of Richard, he could listen, with

¹ Hume.

complacency, to his officers speaking of himself "as fitter for the office than Dick Cromwell." It has already been shewn that his professions of joy and gratitude to the Highest, for the restoration of the Long Parliament were raised to the altitude of ecstasy. But he was very jealous of Lambert, and strongly disposed to dispute the claims put forth by that aspiring officer. The conduct of Lambert in dissolving the parliament afforded his rival a fair pretext for opposing him, and furnished him with powerful auxiliaries for that purpose. It does not appear that the royalists at this stage had any sanguine hopes of deliverance from these movements; but a division of the enemy was encouraging to them, and they now began, with ardent avidity, to court the favour of Monk, imploring him to check the intolerable insolence of the southern army, and to humble the arrogance of Lambert, whose aspiring and despotic proceedings afforded good cause of alarm to all who respected the liberty of their country. The presbyterians of both kingdoms also paid their addresses to Monk, as one who had evinced good-will to their cause by the readiness with which he retained their officers, who had been rejected by Lambert. And the republicans looked to him for the redress of many grievances, on account of the indignities to which they had been exposed from the English army. The motions of Monk were not overlooked by Lambert and his party. Alarmed at his growing influence, they despatched Colonel Cobbet into Scotland for the purpose of supplanting him, and of uniting the northern army with their own in defence of their usurped authority. But Monk, professing to hold his commission of the parliament, arrested Cobbet, and continued to modify the army for the further execution of his own purposes. It cannot be ascertained with certainty what were his ulterior views at this time, but his professions for a republic and for the parliament were as high, and his protestations as

solemn as ever. He wrote Fleetwood, Lambert, and others, reprobating the conduct of the army; vowing that he would shed the last drop of his blood in the cause of the parliament; and "calling heaven to witness that he had no farther ends than the establishment of parliamentary authority, the settlement of the nation in a free commonwealth, and the defence of godliness and of godly men, though of different opinions."

The cautious, artful policy of Monk in treating royalists, presbyterians, and republicans, with such a kind of reserve as neither very fully committed him to any party, nor blasted the hopes that any of them reposed in him, enabled him every day to strengthen his power, and to prepare himself to bid defiance to the English army. In order to obtain his favour, each party offered him liberal support, and his power at length assumed a very formidable aspect. Lambert, perceiving the danger to which he was exposed, now determined to march against Monk for the purpose of checking his progress, and, if possible, of reducing him to subjection. But while Scotland was offering abundance of men and money for the support of Monk, England refused to make any considerable contribution either of the one or of the other for the support of Lambert. His pecuniary resources were nearly exhausted, and the people being generally disposed to act upon the late determination of parliament, declaring it treason to levy money without a legislative enactment, he was refused all such relief. The pay of the army being considerably in arrears, they were obliged to make forcible demands, and, in many instances, to live at free quarters. Such military oppression could not fail to be productive of numerous complaints, and of general dissatisfaction. The discipline of the army was gradually relaxed, and officers, as well as privates, deserted the standard of their general, and joined the ranks of their opponents. The fleet, commanded by Lawson, continued its adherence to the parliament; and when Lambert

marched towards Scotland, the regiment he left behind him generally went over to the side of his opponents. In these circumstances, it was now becoming very doubtful if he could have been able to contend with Monk on the field of battle. The Scottish general, however, was too cautious to hazard his cause in an engagement; and, in order to save time, professing an aversion to shed blood, he dispatched three of his officers to negotiate with Lambert. But although the negociation was successfully conducted, and was fitted to produce peaceful results, Monk, elated by addresses from different quarters, and by his brightening prospects, refused to sanction the treaty, and the whole affair vanished into smoke. Lambert, indignant at his dishonourable treatment, proceeded in the campaign, and, but for the disaffection of his troops, might, in a short time, have prepared himself to dictate to Monk less advantageous terms than what had been rejected. But in consequence of his inability to pay up the arrears, and other discouraging circumstances, his troops at length turned quite unmanageable, and their ranks being thinned by successive desertions, they at length left him in a body.

There was now no longer any enemy able to dispute the progress of Monk, and he was allowed to march his forces to the south without molestation. His army was greatly strengthened by the accession of many that had formerly followed Lambert; and whatever were his real intentions, his professions of attachment to the commonwealth, and his promises to promote its interests, were no less decided and solemn than before. It was his policy to endeavour to please, as far as possible, both kingdoms; to prevent the Scots from suspecting that he was too favourable to the English, and to persuade the English that he had formed no conspiracy with the Scots against them. Nor was it more easy to avoid the jealousy of the rival parties in each of the kingdoms, than to

manage the two kingdoms in the manner least fitted to awaken suspicion. Had the republicans suspected any intention on the part of Monk to restore the king, they would instantly have resisted him ; if the presbyterians had thought that he would restore the king without restrictions, they would have deserted and opposed him as a dangerous adversary ; and if the royalists had been certain that he was sincere in his professions of attachment to the commonwealth, they never would have caressed him and crouched to him, and proffered him liberal support, as they did. The game which Monk undertook to play was very complicated, and, were it not for the gross dissimulation with man, and the daring mockery of the Most High, which characterised the whole of his conduct at this time, we might admire the skill and dexterity as well as the success of his movements. He had no reason to be apprehensive of danger from Scotland, but, lest his connexion with that kingdom should create a doubt of his sincerity in the cause of the republic, he left a part of his troops behind him, as if such a precaution had been necessary to keep the presbyterians and royalists of the north in subjection. In England, he conducted his manœuvres in such an ambiguous manner as to keep alive the hopes of all parties to the last, and reserve to himself the power of finally acting with any of them that might offer most liberally for the promotion of his own sinister purposes.

It was about this time that the restoration was by different parties proposed to the king, but not directly by Monk ; or if so, it had been done with a secrecy impervious to detection then and ever since. The royalists of Scotland, “with his allowance, but without all engagement,” sent Major Buntin to Breda, to inform Charles of the state of matters in Scotland. The king, reduced in circumstances, and ready to despair of relief, was “much refreshed” by the news from Scotland. He was about the same time honoured by addresses both from England and Ireland,

calculated to revive his hopes, and to render them more sanguine than they had ever been since the affair at Worcester. The question at length came to be entertained in his court, to what party it would be most safe for the king to commit himself, whether to his friends in Scotland, in England, or in Ireland. Hyde recommended Lambert to his master's confidence; Lauderdale advised him to throw himself upon Monk and Scotland; and Ormond preferred the offers of Ireland.

On the first day of January 1660, Monk entered the city of London; and, regarded as a liberator, he was received by the people with corresponding demonstrations. Fleetwood, Desborough, and others formerly embarked with Lambert, had already submitted to Haslerig, and, receiving an indemnity, had retired to their houses. All Monk's protestations of friendship for the parliament, did not secure to him the unsuspecting confidence of the members. He was, however, congratulated by them on his approach to the city, and invited to the parliament house, and, having accepted the invitation, he received the most flattering acknowledgments from the Speaker, and returned the fairest promises of devoted attachment. He said, "that among the many mercies of God to these poor nations, he accounted their restoration not the least; that the glory of it was due to the Deity alone, whose goodness had been peculiarly manifested to himself in making him, though unworthy, a humble instrument of so glorious a purpose; that in his march south the people had everywhere flocked to him, professing their desire of a free parliament, the restoration of the members excluded in 1648, the encouragement of the universities and of learning, and likewise of a pious ministry; but that he had assured them that the parliament was now free, and resolved to fill up the vacancies of the house, while it had determined to put an end to its sitting; that ministry and universities would doubtless be encou-

raged, but that, as for the expulsion of the members of 1648, it ought to be acquiesced in ; and that no one could, in any estate, be admitted into such an assembly before he had taken an engagement to the government. He said he mentioned these things to show the disposition of the people at large, to assist them in the grand work, which should include as many interests, excepting those of the cavaliers and fanatics, as possible ; and that for his part he conceived that, provided regard were had for the safety of the commonwealth, the fewer engagements enacted the better. He concluded with remarking that he had no doubt of the good affection both of Scotland and Ireland."¹

When men become so regardless of the dread realities of a future state, as to mock the Judge of all by mentioning his name for the sinister purpose of covering their real intentions from the view of mortals, it often happens that they become unusually profuse in their professions, and frequent in their appeals to the Searcher of hearts. They speak as if they would not only persuade men, but constrain the God of truth, to believe a lie. If Monk had been sincere in his attachment to the commonwealth, it is not probable that he would have said so much ; and if he had entertained a devout reverence for the Divine Being, he would not have been so frequent and forward in his reference to him. But all his perfidious artifice could not prevent the more discerning of his intimate acquaintances from penetrating and understanding his real intentions. It now became apparent to Whitelocke and others that all his professions to the parliament, and to the republicans, were mere finesse,—that his resolution for the restoration of the king was already taken,—and that, regardless of the civil or religious privileges of the people, he intended to hand over the nation to Charles with all the ab-

¹ Brodie, iv. 463 ; Baillie, ii. 440.

solute power which that prince had been taught to regard as the divine right of kings. Apprehensive of the public danger, Lord Willoughby, alderman Robinson, major-general Brown, and others, proposed to adopt measures for the purpose of anticipating Monk, of negotiating a restoration on some terms that would sufficiently guarantee the public liberty, and of obtaining for themselves the credit of the whole matter. For this purpose, Whitelocke urged Fleetwood to improve the only opportunity that remained for his own safety, the preservation of his friends and of the public liberty, and proposed the most likely way of success, at the same time offering his own services either in the army or in a deputation to Breda. Fleetwood listened to Whitelocke, and the whole matter was arranged; but after meeting with Vane, Desborough, and Berry, he completely retracted, from a feeling that it would be inconsistent with good faith to proceed without Lambert's consent. It was in vain that Whitelocke reminded him of his danger, and of the urgency of present circumstances. His answer was, "I cannot help it; I cannot do without him." Fleetwood did not possess the mental vigour necessary for conducting any great enterprise; and being a man of religion and conscience, he is considered by Hume, and writers of his school, as a fair specimen of the imbecility and fanaticism which, according to them, characterize all that profess faith in the doctrines of the cross. But there is a great difference between the want of the talent necessary for enabling a man to act in critical emergencies with wisdom and decision, and the want of moral principle. Wherever sincerity and uprightness are respected, the name of Fleetwood will not be despised; and it is only such as prefer personal aggrandizement and self-interest to every thing else, who can reflect without abhorrence on the abominable duplicity and the reckless perfidy at this time practised by General Monk.

Similar proposals were made by others for negotiating with the king, but none of them were carried into execution. Fairfax on various accounts desired the restoration; but, adhering to his former principles, he would not consent to it, except on such terms as were compatible with the safety of his associates, and with the best interests of the kingdom. He had an interview with Monk upon the subject, but after perceiving the disingenuous and doubtful manner of the General, he left him in disgust.

There was yet, however, one man whose influence with Monk was in all probability greater than that of any other, and whose acquaintance with his intentions must have been very considerable. He was a kindred spirit, a qualified coadjutor for the conduct of such an enterprise as that in which they were now embarked. This was Mr James Sharp. The successful manner in which Sharp had formerly resisted and combated the protesters at London, commended him to the confidence of his party, and secured for him their united concurrence in an appointment to return and watch over their interests at a season of imminent danger. At a meeting in Edinburgh it was accordingly agreed by a number of ministers to send him off without delay, and the following instructions were communicated to him.

“1. You are to use your utmost endeavours that the kirk of Scotland may, without interruption or encroachment, enjoy the freedom and privileges of her established judicatories, ratified by the laws of the land. 2. Whereas by the late toleration, which is established, a door is opened to very many gross errors and loose practices in this church, you shall therefore use all lawful and prudent means to represent the sinfulness and offensiveness thereof, that it may be timeously remedied. 3. You are to represent the prejudice the church doth suffer by the intromitting of the vaking stipends, which by law

were dedicated to pious uses, and seriously endeavour vaking stipends may be intromitted with by presbyteries, and such as shall be warranted by them, and no others to be disposed of and applied to pious uses, according to act 20. par. 1644. 4. You are to endeavour that ministers lawfully called and admitted by presbyteries to the ministry, may have the benefit of the 39th act of parliament, entitled Act anent abolishing Patronages, for obtaining summarily upon the act of their admission decret and letters conform, and other executionals, to the effect they may get the right and possession of their stipends, and other benefits without any other address or trouble. If you find that there will be any other commission appointed in this nation for settling and augmenting ministers' stipend, then you are to use your utmost endeavours to have faithful men well affected to the interests of Christ and his church employed therein." Such were the instructions prepared for Sharp, and they were subscribed by the most distinguished ministers among the resolutioners.

It has been believed by those best acquainted with the subject, that Mr Robert Douglas had suggested to Monk, before his departure for England, the propriety of attempting the restoration of the king; and the same subject was unquestionably entertained by the resolutioners in their private conferences, as well as in their prayers. But the above instructions do not directly contemplate the restoration; and they were equally fitted to direct Sharp how to watch over the interests of the church during the re-establishment of the commonwealth, or the restoration of monarchy. Messrs Dickson and Douglas had corresponded with Monk, and after expressing entire confidence in him "as to the affairs of Scotland, and the necessity of one from them to be near his person, to put him in mind of what is necessary, and acquaint him with the state of things, they ask his pass for Mr James

Sharp.”¹ But previous to the reception of the above letter, the General had ordered Mr Auditor Thomson to write Sharp, and in his name to desire him “to undertake a winter journey, and come to him at London with all speed ; defers the statement of reasons till he be there ; wishes he may communicate this with Mr Douglas, only because the General does not desire this to be made public.” It is unnecessary to quote any more of their correspondence, in order to convince the reader that Sharp proceeded to London in the possession of very great advantages ; and that at this time he had it in his power to do much for the advantage or for the injury of the public cause. In addition to the confidence of Monk and of his constituents, he was also recommended to the most respectable and influential presbyterians in England, such as Messrs Calamy, Ash, Manton, Cowper, and all whose assistance it was supposed might contribute to his efficiency in the performance of his duty. Sharp arrived at London on the 13th February, and was most kindly received by the general, and by the presbyterians in the metropolis. In a short time, Monk replied to the letter sent to him by the Scottish ministers, and in his communication he professes the ardour of his attachment to their commissioner. “Mr Sharp is dear to him as his good friend, but much more having their recommendation, and he cannot but receive him as a minister of Christ, and a messenger of his church ; that he will improve his interest to the utmost for the preservation of the rights of the Church of Scotland, and their afflicted country, which he loves, and had great kindness from ; that it shall be his care that the gospel ordinances and privileges of God’s people may be established both here and with them.”

The pretended friendship of Monk for the Rump Parliament was of very short duration. Soon after

¹ Introduction to Wodrow’s History, p. 4.

his arrival the General was called on to assert the authority of parliament by reducing the common council of London to obedience. Having withdrawn their confidence from parliament, and taken great offence at the army for their severities in killing some of the citizens while suppressing a tumult, that council had resolved to pay no taxes until the election of a free parliament; and, encouraged in their resistance by some of the surrounding counties, they prepared to defend themselves by fortifying the city. In these difficulties the council of state applied to Monk for the purpose of reducing the rebellious subjects to obedience. The general complied with the utmost promptitude, and, summoning his forces, he demolished the fortifications, and arrested twelve refractory citizens. Although he had recommended greater severities than were even sanctioned by the council of state, Monk immediately listened to the remonstrances of the presbyterians, who condemned what had been done as contrary to the dictates of equity and of sound policy. The parliament, however, now entertained jealousies of him similar to what they had evinced against Lambert. Aware of their designs to abridge his authority, and to bring the army under their own power, the general determined to assert his authority by putting an end to their official existence. To pave the way he wrote a letter to the parliament, complaining of the service that had been imposed on him against the city—professing his anxious concern for the liberties of the people—blaming parts of the conduct of parliament,—and expressing his hope that, having determined the qualifications of electors, they would speedily dissolve.

The next step was to conciliate the offended citizens. For this purpose he ordered his letter to the parliament to be published; and, having entered the city, he fixed the whole odium of his late offensive operations upon that unpopular assembly, and disclaimed on the necessity of a new election. The

artful representations of Monk soon united the presbyterians and cavaliers in every expression of contempt for the Rump Parliament. Supported by the army and a majority of the people, the General was now fully prepared to execute his pleasure. The parliament betrayed their weakness by imprudently sending a deputation to require Monk to leave the city, and to repair to his former quarters. And to shew their dispositions for a new parliament they proceeded to settle the qualifications of electors. It was determined "that all who had been engaged in plots for bringing in the Stuart family were to be excluded, while an engagement was to be exacted of every voter against the exiled monarch and the dominion of an individual."¹ But the orders and the resolutions of this parliament were now become quite impotent for all the purposes of government. Monk had received authority from the city to raise a new militia, and the presbyterians were generally disposed to restore the king upon terms consistent with the interests of freedom. Although the general continued his former professions of attachment to the republican government, it is evident that the presbyterians and cavaliers constructed his conduct as amounting to an acknowledgment that he was making preparations for the erection of the old monarchy. And accordingly, though still suspected by the parliament, he was treated with confidence by all who favoured the pretensions of Charles.

The presbyterian members of parliament, who had been excluded in 1648, relying on the support of the army, and encouraged by their friends, and others united with them, now began to insist on admission to their seats; and Monk, in expectation of their subserviency, was prepared to listen to them. Proceeding with all deliberation in the execution of his plans, he invited them to his house to hear their proposals.

¹ Brodie, iv. 470.

and sent for some of the leaders in parliament to join in the discussion. The discussion of such a subject by parties so deeply interested, and so much opposed, could not fail to elicit angry expressions and hostile demonstrations upon both sides; and the consequence was, that the leaders of parliament at length departed in great displeasure. It was now determined by Monk and those remaining, that the excluded members should enter the house and resume their seats in spite of all opposition. Informed of what was to take place, the parliament expressed their fears and complaints to Monk, who soothed them by assurances that their apprehensions were utterly unfounded, promising to send "a guard to prevent the possibility of such a proceeding." But the mean value of that person's professions became apparent, when, instead of sending a guard to defend the parliament, he supported the excluded members by sending a party of his soldiers to put them in possession of their seats.

These members had been iniquitously excluded from the house, and their restoration, considered in the abstract sense, was a justifiable action. But the duplicity and dishonesty of Monk were so flagrant, that our wonder is, that the presbyterians did not abandon him as a man unworthy of all confidence, who would sacrifice every thing dear to them when it could promote his own interests. His present perfidy to the parliament could scarcely fail to prove fatal to the interests of the republicans; and yet he continued to entertain them with his former hollow professions of attachment and promises of support. In a paper which he presented to the two parties now in parliament he says, "I thought good to assure you, and *that in the presence of God*, that I have nothing before my eyes but God's glory and the settlement of these nations upon commonwealth foundations. In pursuit whereof I shall think nothing too dear; and, for my own particular, I shall throw myself down at your feet to be any thing or nothing to these great

ends. As to the way of future settlement, far be it from me to impose any thing. I desire you may be in perfect freedom ; only give me leave to remind you that the old foundations are, by God's providence, so much broken that, in the eye of reason, they cannot be restored but upon the ruins of the people of these nations, that have engaged for their rights in defence of the parliament, and the great and main ends of the covenant ; for uniting the Lord's name one in three nations ; and also the liberties of the people's representatives in parliament will certainly be lost."¹ In these terms did Monk speak of the commonwealth, and of the consequences of restoring the king, at the very time when he was maturing his plans for the ruin of all that a true patriot prizes in the cause of public liberty. The return of the excluded members effected a sudden and entire revolution in parliament. Forming a majority, they were able to carry all before them. No time was lost in reversing and in expunging from the journals the resolutions by which they had been expelled. They proceeded to elect a new council of state, and to promote Monk to the office of captain-general of all the forces in the British dominions ; the command of the fleet was committed to Montague and Lawson. The royalists who had been imprisoned for insurrections and other malignant practices were liberated without delay, and Lambert and Overton were committed to the Tower. At this stage of the restoration the cause of presbytery and the covenants appeared to be decidedly in the ascendant. Manton was called to act as chaplain in parliament ; the Confession of Faith was ratified as the Confession of the Church of England ; "the covenant appointed to be hung up in the house, also in every church throughout the kingdom, and to be read once solemnly every year." Such a reaction afforded unfeigned satisfaction to many of the people, and was

¹ Brodie, iv. 472.

hailed by them as the prelude of happier days. But all this was merely a temporary indulgence to the presbyterians for the purpose of diverting their attention from the dark views of Monk and the royalists. In a letter to Douglas, dated Feb. 21, Sharp says,—“The general, in his speech, declares for presbyterian government, not rigid, and hath writ to the officers of the army; both contain expressions which will not be pleasing, but the present necessity of affairs causeth some to put a fair construction upon them.”

The terms of Sharp's letter respecting the intentions of Monk did create some degree of uneasiness in the mind of Douglas, and the return which he made in a few days to it, evinces the tenderness of his sensibilities in reference to any thing that would imply an impeachment of the character of presbytery. “It soundeth harsh in the ears of all honest and understanding men to hear presbytery, the ordinance of Jesus Christ, reflected upon by the epithet of rigidity.” If the presbyterians had, at this time, with the concurrence of Monk, commenced negotiations with the king, it is very probable he would have consented to such terms as might have enabled them to defend their principles, or, at any rate, to obtain more ample security for their own safety. But, owing to the doubtful meanings of Monk, as well as their own want of decision and sound apprehensions of danger, the golden opportunity was allowed to pass, and the consequences afford a striking proof of the danger of procrastination in matters relating to the public safety. But although the great body of presbyterians in both kingdoms were too dilatory in the adoption of decisive measures for the defence and promotion of the public cause, we have abundant proof of the vigilance and activity of Sharp. In a letter to Mr Douglas, on the 5th of March, he makes an apology for not writing more frequently, and states, “that he is so much engaged in business that he is deprived of his rest; that people, observing the great countenance the

lord-general gives him, press him so that he is forced to abandon his chamber all the day and much of the night; that he declines altogether meddling in the business of particular persons." This was no doubt the truth, though uttered in the language of one who evidently desired to produce on the minds of his constituents a deep impression of his own importance. And the estimate Baillie forms of the services of Sharp manifests the full confidence with which his representations were received. "So soon as he (Mr Sharp) reached London, he was to Monk the most wise, faithful, and happy counsellor he had; and if it had not been for God's assistance to Mr Sharp, Monk was divers times on the point of being circumvented, or of himself to have yielded to destructive counsels." But the possession of power without principle seldom fails to exert pernicious influences. Had the great influence and unwearied activity of Sharp been employed for the good of his country and the best interests of the Church of Scotland, his name might have found a place in the list of patriots to the latest posterity.

Some of the parliament, from the love of power, and others from an apprehension of consequences, evinced a reluctance to dissolve, and represented it as necessary for them to continue until they had settled the affairs of the nation. But Monk informed them that as they had been allowed to meet only on the condition of calling a new parliament, they must now hasten to a conclusion. They accordingly proceeded to determine the qualifications of electors, and resolved that none be admitted to vote but such as would take the covenant; it was also voted that the general should give no commissions to any who did not declare "that the war undertaken against the late king was just and lawful." Having issued writs for a new parliament to meet on the 25th April, the Long Parliament was finally dissolved on the 16th March 1660.

The demonstrations lately made by the parliament in favour of the covenants and church government,

were very encouraging to the presbyterians. Another circumstance of an animating and hopeful kind was, the countenance they were at this time receiving from the cavaliers. Laying aside their former haughty and malignant airs, the royalists now became favourable in their professions to the presbyterians, and they equalled the staunchest of the covenanters in their invectives against the sectaries. By such hollow professions did they deceive the friends of the solemn league into the hope that they would support them in the maintenance of their principles. But the real design of the royalists was, to conciliate public favour as far as possible, and to secure to the utmost of their power, the return of a majority of their own party to the ensuing parliament. Their success was equal to their most sanguine expectations. By a recent act they had been rendered ineligible, but there being no sufficient executive power to assert its authority, a large majority of royalists was returned. The only person who could have prevented them was Monk, but although his allowing the elections to pass undisputed sufficiently indicated his intentions to restore the exiled monarch, he still continued the same dubious policy, acting with the utmost reserve to the cavaliers, and on some occasions inveighing against the return of the Stuarts in the strongest terms. "I would rather," was his language, "spend the last drop of my blood, than one of the Stuarts should ever come into England; and may my right hand be cut off, if I have the least design for the king, or if I do not oppose it to the last drop of my blood if attempted by any." But by his recent proceedings in reference to the army, the parliament, and the city of London, this cold-blooded hypocrite had completely forfeited all favour and confidence with the republicans. They would yet have availed themselves of his assistance for enabling them to regain their former ascendancy, though they would no doubt have embraced the first opportunity to abridge and control the power of one

who was alike dangerous as a friend, and as an adversary. Monk could not restore the commonwealth but at the expense of his own aggrandizement. His ambition might aspire at the supremacy held by Cromwell; but he had neither the means of promoting himself to that elevation, nor of maintaining his ascendancy although it had been gained. The restoration promised him more than any thing else. The royalists being intent upon it, and the presbyterians not against it, it became necessary for Monk now to declare himself; otherwise, the two parties, tantalized and offended, would have proceeded in the restoration without him, and he, having lost the favour of all, would have found himself left behind with his blasted prospects, and ruined character.

But perceiving that the crisis had arrived, the General at length laid aside his reserve, and became decided in his declarations for the king. He now intimated to Sir John Granville, who had been sent by Charles to watch over his interests, that he was anxious to serve his master. Such a discovery could not fail to create a deep sensation over all parties. The republicans, aroused to a sense of their personal danger, and of the perils to which their public cause was exposed, were eager in their anxiety to make some resolute effort for their deliverance. The presbyterians, being favourable to the restoration only on such terms as could afford a sufficient guarantee for the safety of personal and public liberty, were anxious for the settlement of these terms. And the cavaliers, connecting their own interests with absolute monarchy, were intent on the king's investiture with unlimited power. Such were the objects contemplated by the three great parties at this time, and had they acted separately, it would not be very easy to determine, which of them might have been successful.

The republicans were more numerous in England than either of the other parties; and they had the sympathy besides, of many in the army, who would

now be prepared to follow a staunch friend to the commonwealth, much rather than the perfidious Monk. As if it had been destined that the season of their perplexity should all at once be changed into an hour of triumph, Lambert suddenly escaped from the Tower, and immediately set himself to raise again the standard of the republic. Burning with indignation at Monk, and alive to the magnitude of their perils, his followers, had they got time to rendezvous, might have succeeded, by some desperate effort, in repelling, or in prostrating the opposition, so as to turn the current of public movements into the old channel. But all their hopes were speedily blasted by the vigilance of Monk. Before they had collected more than four troops, Ingoldsby, who had been despatched for their suppression, overtook them, and meeting with little opposition, made Lambert and their principal officers prisoners. The hopes of the republicans were now so much damped by their recent misfortunes, that they never again made any considerable effort for the rescue of their sinking cause, and the management of public affairs was allowed to remain in the hands of the presbyterians and royalists.

The circumstances of the presbyterians, however, although they were as yet but little aware of it, were nearly as desperate as those of the republicans. Some of them were indeed seized with no small apprehension in consequence of the election of so many malignants, and of the growing power of a party that had been notorious for hostility to the cause of the covenants. But the hopes of a great number of them were kept alive by the artifice of Sharp, in whose fidelity they had reposed an unsuspecting confidence. They fondly imagined that his great intimacy with Monk, and the amazing influence he professed to exert upon the mind of that General, and upon others of considerable consequence, would be all employed in defence of their liberties, and for pleading their cause in opposition to the

secret insidious attempts, and open endeavours of episcopalians and republicans. In fact, Sharp was not merely the confidential agent of the Church of Scotland,—his good offices were eagerly solicited by the presbyterians in England. In the postscript of his letter to Douglas, of the 6th March, he says, “Messrs Calamy, Ash, and Taylor, are honest, and after mine own heart. They say I am useful to them; sure they put me to toil enough in speaking to parliament members, the General, and his officers.”¹

The confidence reposed in this person will appear still more extraordinary when we remark, that in addition to the care of the presbyterian cause committed to Sharp by the church in Scotland and England, the same cause was also entrusted to him in regard to Ireland. In 1660, Lord Broghill, the governor of Ulster, and Mr John Greg,² wrote to Scotland in name of the presbyterian ministers in Ulster, “desiring a close correspondence with Scotland, and shewing a hearty concern for settling religion, liberty, and uniformity in the three nations, in concert with General Monk, and desiring Mr Sharp, or Mr Wood, or some trusty friend, to be sent over to Ireland to concert measures for the settlement of all these upon righteous and solid foundations.” This application was cordially accepted by Douglas, and the more active ministers in Scotland; but such was their confidence in Sharp, that they committed the matter entirely to him, giving him a discretionary power to go to Ireland or not, as he might judge proper. Considering the delicate and perilous posture of pub-

¹ For a more full account of the correspondence between Sharp and the presbyterians, with a satisfactory proof of the infamous conduct of that individual, see Introduction to vol. i. of Wodrow's History.

² Mr Greg was minister at Newtonards, in Ireland, and a very active zealous presbyterian. *Reid's History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, vol. ii. pp. 310–320.

lic affairs at this time, it must appear to all that the Church of Scotland failed in her wonted vigilance, when she entrusted so much to the fidelity and the management of one man. The duty devolved upon Sharp was too great and important for one fallible mortal to undertake. It was not enough that Manton and Ash, and the whole presbyterians about the metropolis, were prepared to assist him by their counsel and influence. Had he been united with Douglas, he would have been obliged to obtain his concurrence in every movement, and it may reasonably be supposed that various expedients might have occurred to their united wisdom, and been attempted by their combined energies, which were beyond the reach of a single individual. Sharp, however, stood alone. He was not bound to consult or co-operate with the London ministers any farther than he found it convenient; they had no means of detecting his treacherous dealings with Monk; and he took special care to prevent any of his brethren from coming up to London to watch his manœuvres, or thwart his projects.

The intimacy subsisting between Sharp and Monk raised the Scotch minister to the rank of a very important personage, and his advocacy was now sought, not only by ministers, but by the leading nobility and public characters in the state. He accordingly informs Douglas "that several parliament-men and the Lord Manchester, think he hath privacy with the general, and send him (Sharp) to him on all occasions, and the general by him communicates his mind to his friends in the city, and he is employed in all that relates to religion, so that he hath scarce any time to write." The professions made by Monk of his respect for Sharp and of his good affection to the Church of Scotland, contributed very much to the great deception then practised upon the presbyterians in the three kingdoms. From the commencement of his correspondence from London, the artful and designing general assured the ministers that "the welfare of

your church shall be a great part of my care, and that you shall not be more ready to propound than I shall be to promote any reasonable thing that may be for the advantage thereof." In the account of the credulous churchmen, these professions received a sufficient attestation from the repeated reference made by Sharp in his letters to the general's favour for presbytery. We find Douglas congratulating Monk on the good accounts he continued to receive concerning him. "I have been very much satisfied from time to time to hear what good opinion your lordship entertained of presbyterial government."

The letters of Douglas, both to Monk and to Sharp, give abundant evidence of the superior intellect and excellent principles of that distinguished person. He writes as a believer of the divine right of presbytery, and as one that felt the peculiar obligations of these kingdoms to support it, with a settled conviction that it is not more conformable to the dictates of scripture than it is calculated to promote the purity and efficiency of the church, in connection with the best interests of the nation. He vindicates this form of church polity from the charges of severity, which, as Sharp informed him, were entertained against it in England; and he repudiates episcopacy in its mildest forms, as inseparably connected with despotism. "It is best," says he, "that presbyterian government be settled simply; for we know by experience that moderate episcopacy (what can it be other than bishops with cautions?) is the next step to episcopal tyranny. You know the old saying, *Perpetua dictatura via ad imperium*. Our constant moderator was a step to bishops, and they, once entered, soon broke all caveats." The paper, published in a foot-note of Wodrow's introduction, and entitled "The judgment of the sober-minded men in Scotland concerning the settlement of the government in the three nations," is from the pen of Douglas. The document is replete with sentiments of the purest patriotism and primitive

Christianity. It exhibits the claims of each of the three kingdoms to a voice in the settlement of public affairs ; and it illustrates the peculiar claims of Scotland. A number of reasons for the erection of a monarchical in preference to a republican government are adduced ; and also for vesting the government in a legitimate descendant of the house of Stuart, and particularly in Charles II., in preference to any other person. And then come reasons for the establishment of presbytery : "For the government of the kirk of Scotland, they are determined unto presbyterial government, as that which is most agreeable to the word of God, being thereto obliged by their national covenant, and by the solemn league and covenant ; and the other nations are obliged by the league and covenant to endeavour the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches. From England, it is expected from the parliament that is shortly to meet, that it will ratify the 30th and 31st chapters of the Confession of Faith, as well as the late parliament hath ratified all the rest of it." The following is a compend of his arguments against the establishment of episcopacy. Episcopacy is only a human device, but presbytery is a divine ordinance. The three kingdoms are bound by the solemn league and covenant to abolish episcopacy and establish presbytery. Episcopacy cannot be maintained but at an enormous expense. "More is laid out for the upholding the lordly grandeur of one of that hierarchy than many able labourers and faithful ministers of the gospel live upon." It is found by former experience that episcopacy is the "inlet to Arminianism, and other errors," while presbytery has already proved its powers of preventing error in every form from setting up its head. Presbytery is admirably fitted to support civil government, and has been found the

best school to teach subjects due obedience to the lawful magistrate. The strictness of its discipline is fitted to exert a salutary effect upon society in all its grades, and if, in any instance, (which has seldom been the case) there has been exercised undue severity, this is not presbyterial but the perversion of the powers of presbytery.

Such is a specimen of the sentiments entertained, and the means employed, by the presbyterians in Scotland, for the security of their religion, immediately before the restoration. The paper was intended not so much for the instruction of Sharp, as for the information of the members of parliament, at the commencement of its ensuing meeting, and Douglas spoke of it as "what might be fit to be published."

From nearly the commencement of his correspondence, we find Sharp intimating his apprehensions of the establishment of episcopacy. In his letter to Mr John Smith, of the 4th of March, he says, "The great fear is that the king will come in, and that with him moderate episcopacy, at the least, will take place here." It is impossible for us to determine at what stage of his history Sharp's resolutions to assist in the introduction of episcopacy, and to conform to the hierarchy, became decided; but the attentive reader of his letters will be satisfied that they contain internal evidence of proceeding from one whose attachment to presbytery might have been justly suspected. In all he says of his intimacy with Monk, and with the men at the helm of government, he gives no proof of his own unwearied endeavours for securing and promoting the cause of his constituents. When did he employ with those in power the earnest entreaties and moving remonstrances which in former times characterized the applications of our reformers, and the faithful guardians of the city of God? And where are the calls for counsel and assistance which would have been

made by a man trembling for the ark of God, and who, on the failure of every effort his wisdom could devise, or his power could employ, knows not what to do? Instead of stimulating his countrymen to stand up and demand security for their liberties, he advises them to do nothing, and sometimes talks of coming home as if he could do nothing. Nor is there any part of his conduct more suspicious than his intimacy with Monk. If he had uniformly acted for the good of the Church of Scotland, and counted no sacrifice too great for the advancement of true religion, he would not have been admitted so frequently to the councils, and so far into the confidence of that selfish and artful general. We are aware that Sharp's communications are pervaded by expressions of his fears and anxieties for the safety of the cause with which he was entrusted, and with boastings of what he had done. But this was no more than what he must have known to be indispensably necessary to save him from the suspicion of his constituents; and his repeated allusions to the covenants do not prove a sincere desire for their being kept, and a fixed resolution to fulfil his own duty, any more than similar professions from the king, and the most notorious malignants, proved that they entertained any good affection to the cause of reformation. It is not at all improbable that Sharp had, in concert with Monk, formed the purpose of surrendering the power and the liberties of the nation into the hands of the royalists, previous to his departure from Scotland.

Mr Douglas, in connection with his anxiety for the safety of the polity and privileges of the church, evinced a laudable concern for the civil rights of his country. He importuned Sharp to obtain the appointment of "a meeting in Scotland, either of shires and burghs, or of a select committee, for choosing commissioners, to deal in those matters that concern Scotland in general, and to see to the nation's interest." But such reasonable applications were artfully

evaded, and any public authority for such a meeting was refused, for reasons that were to be afterwards communicated. Sharp writes that the General would not allow him to return to Scotland, and that he would communicate his mind to him, and to none else, as to the affairs of Scotland. And to relieve the ministers in Scotland from their fears, he says, "they had a meeting with ten presbyterian ministers whom they could trust, where Lauderdale, they, and he agreed upon the necessity of bringing in the king upon covenant terms, and taking off the prejudices that lie upon some presbyterians against this." Two days afterwards he writes, "that all further applications for commissioners from Scotland must sleep; and adds, the Lord having opened a door of hope, we may look for a settlement upon the grounds of the covenant, and thereby the foundation laid for security against the prelatic and fanatic assaults; but I am dubious if this shall be the result of agitations now on foot."

The manner in which Sharp speaks of commencing intercourse with episcopalians, is deserving of notice:—"Some of the episcopal party have sent messages to me twice or thrice, to give them a meeting, which I have refused; and upon this I am reported both here and at Brussels, to be a rigid presbyterian, making it my work to be settled here." Douglas gives advice respecting the manner in which he might safely conduct himself in a conference with episcopalians, and find occasion to vindicate his country and his church from the aspersions with which they were loaded in England. "These things you might have calmly debated with them: but herein I would have you do nothing without the advice and allowance of presbyterians, who, being in the place, can best judge of the expediency of such a meeting." It is evident that the whole heart of Douglas was fixed on a restoration of the king, and a settlement of the nation agreeably to the principles of presbytery and the co-

venants, and that he dreaded a departure from former attainments, as a certain precursor of public judgments. "If," says he, "the solemn league and covenant be neglected, it seems to me that the judgment on those nations is not at an end." But all his sound counsels and serious warnings were entirely lost upon such men as Sharp and Monk. The answers he received were as unsatisfactory as the ambiguous responses of a heathen oracle, and form a tissue of the most unprincipled and disgraceful finesse to be found in the annals of diplomacy. The Scots were not prevented by repeated refusals of permission for a public meeting, from sending up commissioners to watch over their interests, and Douglas expressed his hopes that they would meet a favourable reception from the General, and that no offence would be taken at their being sent without authority from London.

But the interests of Scotland were at this time entirely neglected. Monk acted merely as the Englishman; and, assisted by Sharp, treated the interests of Scotland as of secondary importance, leaving them to be settled by the king in the exercise of his absolute prerogative. Referring to articles agreed upon by the council of state, to be proposed to the parliament for a treaty with the king, Sharp says, "no notice is taken of Scotland in the treaty; we shall be left to the king, which is best for us."

Preparations being made, the parliament met on the 25th April. Seldom has a national senate convened in more critical and momentous circumstances. But the result must have been foreseen by all men of discernment, who knew that the majority were royalists, and some of them men of no religion at all. There was now a general confluence of persons of quality to the metropolis, and the public mind was arrested and awed by the fearfully portentous aspect of the political horizon. Although Monk had promised to prevent the house of lords from meeting, they were allowed to take their seats without opposition; and no

person appeared to dispute the commission of any one on account of malignancy in either of the houses. Preliminaries being disposed of, the two houses concurred in the confirmation of Monk's commission as captain-general, and their whole proceedings were conducted with a high respect for his authority. But their predominant propensities soon began to be developed in violent execrations about the death of the late king, and in bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwell and the commonwealth. These manifestations formed an appropriate introduction to the main subject submitted to the parliament. But in order to save appearances, and to grace their commencement with an air of solemnity, a day of fasting was appointed, and the parliament was adjourned till Tuesday.

The party in parliament disposed to admit the king on terms compatible with the safety of the cause of public freedom was still very considerable; and had they been allowed liberty of discussion and of fairly trying their powers, the cavaliers would have felt some difficulty in carrying their measures. But by the interference of Monk, all discussion was not merely controlled, it was superseded, and an unconditional restoration imperatively demanded. By what he called a most generous treatment of his sovereign, Monk established his claims to such a return of royal generosity as might secure a fortune commensurate with his grasping ambition. But the application of the term generosity will almost appear in either case a perversion of language, when it is considered that the reciprocal favours of Monk and of his master were exchanged at the expense of freedom, and property, and life, and all that is dear to man as a citizen, a Christian, and a reasonable creature. On the subject being introduced, Monk intimated to the house of commons that Sir John Greville was at the door, with a letter from the king, and that he was anxious to deliver it early. Greville being admitted, deliver-

ed a letter, accompanied with a declaration from Charles respecting the manner in which he would conduct his government. These papers were replete with high professions of respect for the privileges of parliament and for the rights of the people—they promised a general amnesty to all offenders, excepting some few that might be excepted by parliament—liberty of conscience was to be granted, and a most cordial consent to any act that the parliament might deem necessary for its full security. Every thing relating to the late alienations of public property was to be adjusted in the most satisfactory manner, and the soldiers were promised full payment of all arrears and a continuance in the public service.

The above proposals were highly applauded by the royalists ; and even the advocates of limited monarchy gave them a respectful reception. Still these were not disposed to admit mere promises, however liberal, as satisfactory, or as a sufficient guarantee for the public good. It was accordingly moved by Sir Matthew Hale, to consider the communications, and to fix the terms on which they might settle a treaty with the king. But Monk interposed, assuring them that the army could not be depended on during a treaty, and that he could not be responsible for the public peace. He therefore insisted on the king's admission without delay, and free from all restrictions whatever. The power possessed by Monk clothed his arguments with the authority of absolute mandates, and the members of parliament, feeling that it was vain to offer resistance, permitted the royalists to proceed without opposition. The king was accordingly proclaimed on the 8th of May, and preparations were instantly made for his unconditional restoration.

In consequence of the absolute power given to the king, all classes became the more anxious to solicit his favour, and to obtain his patronage for themselves and their party. And, as might be expected, a number proceeded to Breda where Charles then re-

sided. Among these, none acted a more conspicuous part than James Sharp. This was perhaps the most important passage in his history, as the intrigues in which he had been employed now came to a crisis; and a very short time made such a disclosure of his true character, as to place his name on the list of traitors, too prominently to be gainsaid by the voice of faction, or to be effaced by the lapse of ages. In a letter to Mr Douglas, he says, "General Monk has been pressing me these ten days to go over to the king;" and he speaks as if his object was to obtain his majesty's encouragement to Mr Calamy and the presbyterian ministers. But the General's chief design in sending Sharp is intimated in a following part of the letter, where it is said that Monk considered it "fit you should be there, were it but to acquaint the king with the passages of my undertaking, known to Mr Douglas and you, and to tell him of matters in Scotland." It does not appear that his brethren at home had any hesitation respecting the propriety of Sharp's going to Breda, or that they entertained any suspicion of his fidelity. On the contrary, they embraced the opportunity of writing a letter of congratulation to the king, in which Mr Douglas, and a number of his brethren, evince a devout apprehension of the merciful and wise providence of God in watching over his majesty, amid all the trials to which he had been exposed, and in at length preparing the way for his promotion to the throne; they solemnly declare that their attachment to him was not impaired by all that has befallen them; and express their hopes and ardent wishes that he will "protect this church in her established privileges, and are not less confident (though we presume not to meddle without our sphere) that your majesty will not only hearken to the humble advices of those who are concerned, but will also of your own royal inclination, appear to settle the house of God, according to his word, in all your dominions." In their instructions to Sharp, they

request him to insist upon their peculiar claims upon his majesty's favour, to make an apology for the temporizing part they had acted in omitting for a time the mention of the king in their public prayers—to express their hope, that having passed a searching ordeal of affliction, he will now appear another Josiah; and that whatever might be his inducements to establish episcopacy in England (which could not fail to prove a great evil) that there was no reason for altering any thing in the constitution of the Church of Scotland." The manner in which they request Sharp to speak of the protesters, demands particular notice. "As for those among us with whom you know we have had so much vexation, you may inform, if you find cause, that we really wish no evil to their persons, nor shall, for our part, stumble if the king exercise his moderation towards them; yet we apprehend their principles to be such (especially their leaders) as their having any hand in affairs cannot but breed continual distempers and disorders."

Among others who hastened to Breda was the earl of Rothes. The clergy of Edinburgh embraced the opportunity of soliciting his good offices in behalf of the Church of Scotland, and they entrusted him also with a letter to his majesty, similar to what they had sent by Sharp. In their zeal for promoting religion in the three kingdoms on the principles of the solemn league and covenant, they corresponded with the leaders among the presbyterians in England and Ireland, and employed various arguments against the establishment of episcopacy. It is much to be regretted that the ministers in the three kingdoms did not appoint commissioners for the purpose of uniting their efforts in contending for a common cause. There can be no doubt that many might have been found, in both the other kingdoms, admirably qualified for a cordial co-operation with Douglas and his brethren in the Church of Scotland. But while they congratulated each other, and expressed wishes and hopes, no

decided measure was adopted, and the last opportunity was allowed to escape from them.

The presbyterian ministers in London, Oxford, and Cambridge, held several meetings for the purpose of deliberating on the measures they were called to adopt in present circumstances, and a deputation, consisting of Dr Reynolds, Mr Calamy, Dr Spoistre, Mr Case and Mr Manton, was appointed to proceed to Breda to congratulate the king, and to solicit his favour to the presbyterian church of England. But they were anticipated by Sharp, who went before them, and who, from the recommendation of Monk, was likely to have more influence with the king than any other clergyman whatever. In his letters to Mr Douglas, Sharp states what were Monk's motives in wishing him to go to Breda, and his own designs in complying; he gives an account of the reception he met, and of the nature and manner of his intercourse with the king. According to Sharp's representations, Monk wished him to inform the king of his services in Scotland, and also "to move his majesty to write some of the most eminent city ministers, to be by them communicated to the presbyterian ministers through the kingdom, intimating his majesty's resolution to bear down profanity, and to countenance religion in the power of it." His own design was to give the king seasonable information of the state of Scotland, and to employ his utmost endeavours for the good of the church. There is every reason to believe he received the kindest attentions from the king; and from the manner he speaks on this subject, it is manifest he was deeply affected by them. "I cannot express what welcome I had, and with how kindly an acceptance my application was entertained by his majesty, who was graciously pleased to put such a respective usage upon me all the time I was there as it was noticed by all the court. I do not mention this out of a ticklish vanity, but as an evidence among others of our prince's affection to our country and

kirk, of which I am abundantly satisfied, though before my going over he was falsely represented, even by some of the presbyterian judgment, as an enemy of both." At the first interview he was with the king an hour and a half in his bed-chamber, and informed him particularly of Monk's services, and of the activity of his friends in promoting his interests. On another occasion he walked with the king nearly two hours in the gardens, and about two hundred gentlemen behind them, when he was asked many questions about the parliament, the army, and also respecting Scotland. And at a third interview the king astonished Sharp by his acquaintance with Scottish affairs, and particularly by his minute recollections respecting a number of ministers. He mentions that, but for the interposition of a nobleman newly arrived from England, he would have been allowed to inform his majesty according to his utmost wishes about the protesters, the state of the church, and the honest men in it. He was informed by the king that they would speak of the Church of Scotland after landing in England. Sharp expresses the fullest confidence in the king's good affection to Scotland. "This I can say, that by all these opportunities I had, in every one of which I did not omit the moving about Scotland, I found his majesty resolved to restore the kingdom to its former civil liberties, and to preserve the settled government of our church, in both of which I was bold expressly to move, and had a satisfactory answer." He professed, however, to have no hope of the success of presbytery in England, and considered that his interference in that matter would have been offensive, and tended to the prejudice of their own peculiar interests. And he was offended at the part Douglas and his brethren had acted in writing to the presbyterians in England.

Such is a sketch of the prominent facts in Sharp's *own account* of his intercourse with the king. But in point of fact the whole representation was got up for

the purpose of practising the grossest deception upon the simple and unsuspecting presbyterians of Scotland. For Douglas informs us that he at length discovered that Sharp went to Breda with an attestation from a "prime nobleman" that he was an episcopalian in his judgment. His intercourse with the king was a conspiracy for the overthrow of presbytery, and for the extinction of public liberty, to serve the purposes of personal aggrandizement. Nor is it more accurate to say that he was led by the king, than to maintain that the king was led by him. The sentiments of Sharp respecting the absolute prerogative of kings being very congenial to those of Charles, and the prospects he opened being commensurate with his majesty's utmost ambition, it is no wonder that the king was pleased with his company, and that two men, equally destitute of all that is sacred in principle and noble in patriotism, took pleasure in conferring upon a subject which promised so much satisfaction to both. The following statements of Douglas may be regarded as very descriptive of the treachery practised by Sharp at this time. "I profess," says he, "I did not suspect Mr Sharp, in reference to prelacy, more than I did myself—no more than the apostles did Judas before his treachery was discovered." "It appeared afterward that he was a great enemy to the presbyterian interest; and when we wrote a favourable letter for the earl of Rothes, and with him a letter to the king, he dissuaded the earl from delivering the letter. When at London he was enraged that we had written to the ministers of London. He dealt also treacherously with the brethren who came from Ireland, in dissuading their addresses to the king. When he came to Scotland he dealt earnestly against all addresses made to the parliament against prelacy. He dealt treacherously with the king, making him believe that there were no considerable persons against prelacy; but would have persuaded the king that all our lives were in his hand, and he might do what he pleased,

and the man never rested till he was brought himself to a chair."

The deputation of English ministers met a very flattering reception from the king, but he was prepared for them by Sharp, and acted his part very successfully in making them believe, that in a short time all would be fitted agreeably to their wishes. If we can believe Hyde, the king made no promises of abstaining from the use of the book of settled common prayer, but sternly told them, "that while he gave them liberty he would not have his own taken away;—that when he came into England, he should not severely inquire how it was used in other churches, but he would have no other used in his own chapel." He thus made fair promises of great moderation, and endeavoured to prevent all suspicions by appearances of piety. While they were waiting in an antechamber, his majesty was heard praying; "he thanked God that he was a covenanted king; that he hoped the Lord would give him an humble, meek, and forgiving spirit; that he would have forbearance towards his offending subjects as he expected forbearance from offended Heaven." On hearing such words from the royal lips, old Mr Case lifted up his hands to heaven and gave thanks to God for a praying king. These commissioners are not to be compared with Sharp in point of dishonesty, but they abandoned the common ground that had been formerly occupied by the presbyterians in the three kingdoms, and by consenting to a moderate episcopacy on the principles of Usher, they committed themselves so far as to lose the power of offering any successful resistance to the rising tide of defection on the one hand, and despotism on the other.

The episcopalians had until now been kept in check, so far as to prevent them from putting forward the high pretensions which have especially distinguished

their movements among the protestant churches. But the late progress of events raised their fallen crests, and every day exhibited new proofs of their progressive approximation to their former importance about the court of the kingdom. The bishops had obtained, through the channel of a secret correspondence with chancellor Hyde, ample assurances of the king's favour, yet they did not fail in offering early congratulations to the king himself; and before he left Breda Mr Barwick was sent over with instructions to beg assistance of the chancellor in presenting a petition to the king in name of the bishops, and to deliver their letters to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, and other distinguished personages, expressing grateful acknowledgments to them for their continued attachment to the church,—to inform the king of the state of the church, and to receive his royal commands,—to ask his majesty's pleasure respecting the part they should act on his arrival, and whether they should appear in their episcopal habits,—to inquire respecting the number of chaplains, and the persons his majesty would prefer,—if Dr Lushington, (a Socinian) formerly the king's chaplain, should offer his services, they wished to know if they might indulge him until an opportunity of inquiring into his doctrines be found; and finally, Barwick was instructed to inquire if, according to custom, a public thanksgiving should be observed in St Paul's cathedral.¹

Such were the petitions of the bishops, the only kind of clerical requests for which the king had any relish. It was with difficulty that the episcopal clergy could be restrained from giving premature vent, in their sermons, to the evil passions which had so long rankled in their breasts; and they raised a storm, which, but for the more prudent management of the chancellor and others at the helm, might have wrecked their hopes.

¹ Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, iii. 335.

At length the king arrived at Dover on the 26th of May. He was met by General Monk, who, after being welcomed by the strongest expressions of royal affection, delivered the parliament's letter, congratulating the king on his arrival, and inviting him to proceed to the city by water. Thus, after all the struggles the presbyterians had sustained, in defending the cause of liberty from the daring encroachments of arbitrary power, they stultified themselves by reposing unbounded confidence in one, whose whole previous history afforded the strongest indications of his propensities to trample all they accounted sacred under foot, and to turn again and rend them.

Since the death of Cromwell, the contest betwixt the resolutioners and protesters had gradually subsided, and, previous to the restoration, there was some prospect of its desirable termination. In the provincial synods of this year, the mutual dispositions of parties were more pacific than they had appeared from the commencement. But one of the primary effects of the progress of the measure for recalling the king was the revival of former animosities among the presbyterians in Scotland. We are not informed that the protesters offered any direct opposition to the treaty with the king, if any thing done in that matter can be called a treaty, but the resolutioners, aware of the king's disaffection to the protesters, and of the renewed opportunity that coming events would afford for the revival of their old scruples, determined to hold no terms with them any longer. Douglas, in his letter to Sharp, of the 20th March, mentions "a meeting of the protesters at Edinburgh very unfrequent, but, it is said, they wrote a letter to the General in favour of Warriston." In a short time afterwards, Sharp mentions that Warriston had applied to him for the purpose of obtaining favour with Monk, but, says he, "I declined;" and he states that "Warriston would have little use of any grant, and, ere three months ended, he would not be worth a

groat ; that he would take care none of the remonstrants should have any trust in Scotland." It has been said that Sharp was greatly opposed to Messrs Rutherford, Guthrie, Lord Warriston, and the leading protesters on personal grounds ; and the statement is very much supported by the correspondence of Sharp and Douglas. Nothing but the working of the sour leaven of hatred and hostility can account for the invidious allusions to the protesters which pervade the letters of Sharp at this time. He seems jealous of any friendly interchanges that had of late begun to be made by the protesters and resolutioners, and even afraid of an accommodation. And there is reason to believe that he did every thing in his power to revive the unfavourable impressions the king had formerly entertained against the opponents of the public resolutions, and to inflame his royal displeasure, so as to call forth that destructive persecution which soon overtook them. He addresses himself to Douglas in such artful terms as were calculated to make, as they were too successful in making, the resolutioners break off all correspondence with their brethren, and stand aloof from them as if they had deserved the doom of Korah and his company. In the letters of Douglas, the protesters are also mentioned repeatedly in such terms as say little for the conciliatory dispositions of that good man. But it should be remembered that he was led to it by Sharp's designing references to parts of their former procedure that had been very offensive to the king. For example, when pressed by Douglas to the performance of his duty, he says, "I cannot see how it is possible for me or for any one else to manage the business committed to me by your letters of the other week, with any shadow of advantage ; but a certain prejudice will follow upon our further moving in these particulars that are so disgusting here. I am bated on all occasions with the act of the West Kirk and the declaration of Dunfermline. The protesters will not be welcome here ;

their doom is dight, unless some, upon design of heightening our division, give them countenance, which I hear whispered among some noblemen." By these allusions to the West Kirk and Dunfermline, Douglas was prompted to vindicate himself and blame the protesters. And see, in the following extract, the artful management of Sharp, for the purpose of excluding the objects of his aversion from the expected Assembly. "In the king's declaration for calling a General Assembly, Lauderdale and I were thinking it is fit that the Assemblies at St Andrews and Dundee be mentioned as what his majesty owns; which will put a bar upon the election of the remonstrants or else they must renounce their judgment."

It is not, however, in his treatment of the protesters that the treachery is to be found, that will render Sharp notorious wherever the history of the Church of Scotland is published. With all its turpitude and malignity, his hostility to them is open and avowed. But it was to Douglas and the resolutioners that he practised a refined treachery with fatal success. After his return to London, he tantalized them with the hope of a General Assembly, and of the enjoyment of all their privileges, while, in point of fact, nothing was farther from his intentions. He now invited Douglas and some of his brethren to come to his assistance in the protection of the public cause, and, in a little, he says their presence could serve no good purpose, but might even prove prejudicial to their interests. He hoped everything from the king, while he mentioned the progress of prelatic innovations, and expressed his fears of its triumph. And he encouraged them to wait and pray, it being neither safe nor seasonable to do any thing else. In this way did Sharp entertain the ministers of Scotland, while episcopacy was being introduced into England, and he meanwhile diverted their attention from their real dangers, until, at the head of a proud hier-

archy, he appeared the man of an absolute monarch's right hand, prostrating public freedom on the streets, and perpetrating outrages against the life and private rights of citizens, that have seldom been surpassed in any kingdom.

By the instrumentality of Monk and Sharp, the king was thus at once promoted to the sovereignty of Britain, and enabled to remodel the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of the three kingdoms, agreeably to his capricious and arbitrary inclinations: and the presbyterians, having witnessed with unutterable grief the overthrow of the Second Reformation, were compelled either to abjure their profession, or to submit to persecutions of the most appalling description, as is shown by Wodrow and Cruickshanks. The providence of God, by their history, reads an impressive lesson to posterity, calling to join trembling with our mirth; to be jealous of the professions of the enemy, however specious; and to guard against the consequences of strife among brethren.

CHAPTER V.

Points of difference between the past and the present controversy in the Church of Scotland—tendency of the principles of moderatism—insufficiency of the veto or non-intrusion—present duty of the Church of Scotland.

THE controversy exhibited in the preceding pages, in some of its aspects very much resembles the great living and growing controversy of the present time; but it is necessary to distinguish their points of agreement from those in which they essentially differ, lest, by groundless comparisons or contrasts, we confound things, and fall into widely different mistakes as to the merits of the public questions presently at issue. And whether we contemplate the contesting parties or the contested points,—the great animus of the controversy, or its influence upon the public mind, and its results in reference to the cause of religion, there is much need of caution and of candid exercise of patient discrimination. The most striking feature of resemblance in the two controversies is unquestionably the resistance offered in both cases to the decisions of the General Assembly. But a very little attention to the circumstances of each will satisfy the candid inquirer that beyond the general fact of great opposition being made to the decisions of the supreme ecclesiastical court in both periods, they have in reality very little common.

Such as possess any considerable acquaintance with the peculiar characteristics of the two *protesting*

parties, will not expect to find much resemblance in any part of their public proceedings. The whole principles, professions, acts, and ways of the old Protesters, form a striking contrast with those of the Moderates, who are the protesters at present; and to state a comparison between these parties, merely because both opposed General Assemblies, would be no less ridiculous than it would be to compare the moderates and voluntaries, because they are both at present exerting all their influence to frustrate the efforts of those contending for the liberty and general reformation of the Church of Scotland. In opposing the assemblies of the interregnum, the protesters principally objected to the constitution of the court, which, as we have seen, was corrupted to such a shameful degree, as might at least warrant a doubt whether the whole of its proceedings were not vitiated and invalidated. But the moderates have not protested against the constitution of the court, unless we consider their hostility to the *quoad sacra* ministers as amounting to this; they have given the Assembly their sanction, by taking their seats in it, and by formally taking part in its proceedings. It was only after they had fairly failed in carrying their measures that they became protesters, and set the authority of the court at defiance. And their conduct is the more surprising to such as remember that very lately, when opposing the union with the Original Burghers, Dr Cook and his followers held up the conduct of the first seceders to odium, on account of their resistance to ecclesiastical authority. The seceders protested against the Assembly for invading the liberties of the church. The moderates are protesting because the Assembly is endeavouring to assert them. In resisting authority, moderatism is therefore at manifest variance with itself. Their opposition within the church is even beyond what they condemned in the seceders. But the most striking characteristic of moderatism, at present, is

the palpable Erastianism of the principles avowed, and of the practices exhibited. Some of the means employed by the old protesters for the purpose of securing the assistance of Cromwell, and of raising their party to the exclusive possession of the civil immunities of the Church of Scotland could scarcely be vindicated; but they were decidedly opposed to Erastianism, and peculiarly jealous of the interference of the civil powers, with any thing belonging to the ecclesiastical province. Nothing could be more repugnant to their whole sentiments on the subject of church polity, than the subjection of ecclesiastical authority to civil power in spiritual things. The idea of appealing from an ecclesiastical court to a civil was never entertained by them for a moment. The moderates had a right to protest, and to employ every means to exonerate their own consciences, either by continuing in the church or by seceding from her; but the manner in which they have invoked the interposition of the civil powers, and recognised their authority in spiritual matters, has never been paralleled in the history of presbyterianism in Scotland.

It cannot be said that the present protesters have adopted new principles. The direct tendency of moderatism has always been to foster arbitrary power in the state, and Erastianism in the church; it has been equally opposed to civil and ecclesiastical liberty. Its leading abettors have uniformly supported an ultra-toryism, and strenuously opposed popular ecclesiastical freedom. The true history of moderatism is certainly a desideratum; and in this age of new publications, it is rather surprising that no person has attempted it. In the progress of the present controversy, the moderates have afforded very important additional materials for the composition of such a work. They are generally very cautious in the statement of principle, and they have not yet altogether laid aside their reserve; but in moments of

excitement they have made such avowals of their sentiments, and in seasons of defensive and offensive hostilities, they have made such developments of their system, as, if laid hold upon and wisely disposed of, would afford a pretty full delineation of its character. Their whole managements have been directed to the subjugation of the church to the state. The measures they have introduced and supported, their ecclesiastical administration, and the histories they have published, are all fitted to confer an undue ascendancy upon civil authority, and to enable magistracy to lord it over that kingdom which is not of this world.

The student of moderatism is very naturally led to inquire to what extent its principles would go. It is easy to see that they lead to an unwarrantable interference with ecclesiastical rights; but it is more difficult to find out where they would terminate. In their late appeals and applications to the civil powers, the moderates have surpassed all their predecessors in the practical application of their principles. We are not aware that they have advanced any new doctrine, but they have unquestionably carried the old more palpably into effect, and afforded a fuller illustration of their theory than ever was given before. It is not very easy to define moderatism, and to state the peculiar principles upon which it is founded. There is, however, one doctrine which has of late been frequently exhibited, and may be regarded as belonging to the fundamentals upon which the whole structure is erected. It is that because the church is endowed by the state, she ought in return to give up the appointment of ministers, or, in other words, submit to patronage. Dr Cook has repeatedly made statements to the effect, that the state will not be disposed to endow the church, unless she surrender the elective franchise or some of her liberties in return. Such a statement may be regarded as embodying the whole theory of moderatism, and as the

groundwork of all the recent proceedings of the party. It was the doctrine of the old protesters, and of all the reformers, that the state is as much bound to endow the church as any man is bound to perform a moral duty. The most direct way of doing honour to the God of nations is by receiving the kingdom of his Son into their dominions, and by extending their fostering care to Christianity. In doing this, they work out the temporal salvation of their country, just as we work out our eternal salvation by obeying the gospel. In keeping the law of God respecting the church, a Christian magistrate finds "great reward" in the moralizing and ameliorating effects of the Christian ministry upon the people. In point of political economy there is no device for the temporal and civil good of men like the gospel. It is the cheapest and most efficient means of improvement and of prosperity that was ever devised;—so that the government which establishes Christianity has no need of any such return as the moderates contend for; in doing its duty the state performs a duty to God, and receives the highest temporal reward in the improved loyalty, peacefulness, industry, and general morality of the people.

There is something so monstrous in the doctrine of moderatism, on which we are animadverting, that the spirit of Christianity shrinks from it. It is contrary to all that is liberal in politics, and opposed to all that is evangelical in religion. Regarding the civil magistrate not as the public and well-paid servant of the nation, applying funds furnished by public contribution for the common good, it represents him as acting in his own name, as dispensing his own funds, and as entitled, for an act of duty and of justice, to a return similar to that which is made for a charitable contribution. Nor is the doctrine under review more congenial to the spirit of the gospel than to the principles of liberal politics. There is no sanction in scripture to the surrender of a

sacred right for a civil privilege. The duties which Christ requires from nations are not fitted to cramp or to curtail the liberties of his church ; they all go to ratify and protect them. The liberties of the church are what no man is allowed to purchase, and what no person can sell. He who buys them is of the same spirit with Simon Magus, and he who sells them falls into the sin of Esau. The gospel not only presents us with the means and the motives of personal freedom,—it teaches all its disciples to seek the attainment and the security of freedom to others. But the principle we are combating barter ecclesiastical rights in return for civil privileges. The civil establishment which the moderates define, no doubt confers upon the church temporal support and encouragement, but it does not protect her in the enjoyment of her spiritual liberty and independence ; on the contrary, it founds on the civil grant a right to the election of her ministers, and to rule over her even in spiritual matters.

But how far does the principle, that for the establishment of Christianity, the state is entitled to the election of ministers, lead ? Does it include a simple nomination ? or does it involve a power on the part of the state to control the church in the matter of ordination and induction ? Here it is necessary to investigate the subject very minutely ; for it is manifest that the patronage now pled for by the moderates, and claimed by heritors, is something very different from what was reluctantly submitted to by the reformers, and by the opponents of moderatism all along. The moderates scarcely recognize the people as a party to be consulted about the choice of their pastors at all ; but it is a principle of the reformation, and of the present majority of the church, that the people should not only be called to concur in the nomination, but if a majority be opposed to it, the nominee of the patron can on no account be inducted. The principles of the two parties being thus essentially

different, it may be expected that in many instances, when carried into effect, there will be resistance, collisions, and the occurrence of such unseemly contentions as have been seen of late. The patronage of moderatism is a prodigious evil. It not only intrudes a pastor against the will of the people,—it carries its purpose in spite of the united resistance both of the presbytery and of the congregation. The presbytery may find him utterly useless in point of adaptation and of efficiency ; but according to the absolute patronage abetted by the moderates, they dare not reject him, and they are bound to accept of the nominee of the patron. But this is not all. The Edwards and his patron may invoke the aid of the civil powers to make good the settlement. It is at their peril that the presbytery refuse to ordain, however much the presentee may be opposed by the parish. To see the principles of moderatism in operation, we have only to advert to their recent exhibition in the experiment at Marnoch. There the moderates have set at defiance the sentences of ecclesiastical authority, they have appealed to civil courts to loose them from suspension and deposition, and they have endeavoured to bind the whole Assembly by interdicts and prohibitions, so as to prevent the exercise of discipline upon the disorderly and contumacious. The church refused to concur in or to sanction a case of such flagrant intrusion ; but the moderates proceeded, in obedience to civil authority, to the perpetration of one of the most daring and despotic settlements to be found in the whole history of their violent proceedings. Acting on the principle that the civil right of the patron is affected and injured by the late ecclesiastical enactment against intrusion, the moderates invoked the assistance of civil authority, and at once contemptuously trampled the authority of ecclesiastical courts, and the liberty of a Christian congregation under their feet.

Now the Marnoch intrusion is strenuously defend-

ed according to the law of patronage, as interpreted by the moderates, and by a majority of judges in the Court of Session. This places the matter in an entirely new light. Patronage was never liked in Scotland; but we are satisfied that, had our reformers ever understood the subject according to its late interpretation, they would have rather ascended a scaffold than have submitted to it; that if our Erskines, and Moncrieffs, and Thomsons, and many excellent men who entered the church by patronage, had understood it as embodying a principle on which ecclesiastical authority exercised in its legitimate province could be set aside because it may affect a civil right, they would have as soon cut off their right hands and cast them from them, as have touched a presentation; and we are certain that, had many good people, who have reluctantly submitted to the yoke of patronage, understood it as warranting the civil magistrate to enter the house of God, to bind and to loose, and, in the place of Him whom God hath set upon the holy hill of Zion, to give commandment to ecclesiastical courts, whom to ordain and where to preach, they would on no account have entered a church where such a practice was tolerated. In its most mitigated form patronage is a great evil, but as now interpreted, the church that tolerates it could scarcely be called a church of Christ. It embodies a principle which, as a fulcrum, would support civil power, and give it sufficient purchase for upsetting the whole system of ecclesiastical government. Thus a faithful minister might be prosecuted by an offended hearer for publicly condemning a sinful traffic, from which the complainer makes his gain; and a person subjected to censure might raise an action against an ecclesiastical court for the damage which a stigma on his character may have done to his trade.

In some particular acts the protesters and the resolutioners may have erred in their applications to

civil authority, and in the uses they made of the favour of court ; but they never laid down Erastian principles, and their contest about General Assemblies was carried on within the church. The protesters were greatly aggrieved at their exclusion from seats in the Assembly, but they never thought of employing a civil court to assert their claim ; they considered the sentences of deposition to be utterly invalid, but they never applied to the civil powers to set them aside ; and though Guthrie and Gillespie persisted in the performance of ministerial functions, it was not on the ground of a warrant from Cromwell, or the Long Parliament, or the court of session, but in virtue of their ordination by an ecclesiastical court. The Erastianism of our moderate protesters has no precedent in the annals of presbytery ; and woe to Scotland if the government be left to take them under the protection of its special favour. To support their pretensions is to abet doctrines, and to prepare for offering indignities to the Lord Jesus, similar to what obtained in the days of the martyrs, and encourage the commission of sin, which, like that of Manasseh and other enemies of the church, the Lord may refuse to pardon.

The majority of the Church of Scotland are now employed in contending for a cause the importance of which surpasses finite conception. It is the same which often turned "for a testimony" to the witnesses of the Most High in former times. The struggles of the presbyterian church, when the Stuarts swayed the sceptre in these lands, were not merely against episcopacy ; they were employed in resistance of the encroachments of civil power on the ecclesiastical province ; and the same authority which then dictated the form of the church government, and directed in what manner to dispense divine ordinances, is now commanding ecclesiastical courts to ordain ministers, and interdicting them from the infliction of censures on the scandalous. The truth for which

they are contending needs only to be stated in order to enlist on their side the sympathies and the support of all who prefer the honour of Christ to the honour of this world. "God hath given him to be head over all things to the church;" it is his prerogative to give laws, and to appoint a ministry for the dispensation of his ordinances. This he has done, and if we go to a civil court for a warrant, either to dispense or to wait upon divine ordinances, we not only reject the authority of the courts of Christ, but of him who appointed them. This then is the great question, Is the church to obey Christ speaking in his word, or is she to regulate her internal affairs according to the mandates of the civil courts? If she obey her divine Head, she will be found a spiritual church, admirably fitted for all the purposes of God's glory and the salvation of souls; but if in spiritual matters she obey civil courts, she must soon become a civil church, and merely serviceable to state purposes.

In their endeavours to assert the spiritual independence of the church, the majority are performing a service intimately connected with the honour of Christ and with the interests of immortal souls. Their success is the triumph of the kingdom of Christ over those who would divest it of its spiritual independence, and degrade it into a province of the kingdoms of this world; and their defeat will be the most disastrous which the religion of Scotland has sustained since the revolution. It is very encouraging to a well-affected spectator to find such an amount of talent and of principle enlisted in defence of truth, and especially when it is considered that their efforts are accompanied with so many prayers of the people of God in all quarters of the land. And it is easy to see that, in order to promote the prosperity of the church, they are especially earnest for the attainment of two objects—her freedom from the oppression of patronage, in connection with the continued enjoyment of her accommodation and external support as

an established church. Both of these objects are greatly to be desired. The former is essential to the prosperity of a church, and the latter is of great service to her extension and stability in any land. After the pecuniary exertions they have made in the cause of church extension, it would certainly betray infatuation to peril the patrimony of the church without cause.

But it is an important inquiry, In what way are all the interests of the church to be most successfully promoted, and her universal prosperity best secured? We have no sympathy with those who despise endowments; yet it must be allowed that these are but secondary objects, and entitled only to a subordinate place in our attention at a time like this, when infinitely higher interests at stake. And there is great reason to fear that in their anxiety to save the former, the present advocates of spiritual freedom are not doing justice to the latter. They are embarked in a good cause; but the admirer of our old reformers, of the measures they adopted, and of the principles upon which they acted, will have great doubts both of the character and expediency of some parts of present procedure, particularly in yielding so much to patronage. Here it may be said, our reformers gave some quarter to patronage, the very thing presently done by the veto law,—we will be told they insisted for non-intrusion, the very thing that is now being done. Their non-intrusion, however, was qualified with an express condemnation of patronage as a corruption not to be tolerated in a reformed church. Their reprobation of this grievance was express and united; and it is probable they expected that it could not long remain in the light of the reformation. Had they foreseen its results, we are morally certain they would have striven against patronage far more strenuously than they did. The reformers had many other evils to contend with, and there is reason to wonder, not that they left something undone, and

that patronage was permitted to remain for a time, but that they were enabled to accomplish so much—to remove so many deep-rooted and rivetted corruptions—and to restore the church of God to such a high degree of conformity to his holy word. It is not however, inconsistent with a profound veneration for the name of our reformers, to admit that they may not have carried their opposition to patronage so far as they ought to have done. In order to show us that they were men, the Lord may have permitted a plant which they ought to have plucked up, to grow, to develope its properties, and to produce its natural fruits in the church, and, like the Canaanites, left in the land to be as thorns in our sides, and to vex us until this day.

But if, after all we have experienced of the consequences of such a yoke of bondage and root of bitterness, we should, on any terms or conditions, consent to its continuance, we expose ourselves to a charge of unfaithfulness which cannot apply to our fathers. The Lord has, in his sovereign permission of patronage to do its proper work among us, been giving us an experimental commentary on its qualities; and if, with all its deadening, and dividing, and depraving effects in our eye, we still entertain measures consenting to its continuance, it will not be easy to give us credit for sincerity, not to speak of faithfulness, in the cause of religious liberty. It is our full persuasion that, by taking too low ground, and not giving their principles full liberty to operate, the advocates of non-intrusion are neither doing justice to themselves, nor to the cause in which they are embarked. While they nobly resist the intrusion of a pastor, they consent to the intrusion of a patron. It is an act of intrusion of a very revolting kind, for a man of the world to enter the church and to elect a minister. While they display great fortitude in defence of the supremacy of Christ as connected with the courts, they are not defending the same principle as it applies to

the Christian people. If a civil court offers an indignity to the Head of the church, by doing the business of an ecclesiastical court, is not the same authority despised by a landed proprietor doing the duty of the Christian people? To choose a pastor for a people is to dishonour the same King no less than to command a presbytery to ordain him. Is Christ less alive to the liberty of the least of his people than he is to the freedom of the courts of his house? Hath not he who said to his ministers, "he that heareth you heareth me," declared, "whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe on me, it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the midst of the sea?" It were easy to show in the same manner, that patronage necessarily affects the principle of the spiritual independence of the church. Our present reformers have laid down excellent principles; they have clearly expounded and ably defended them; but it grieves and mortifies us, beyond all expression, that they are not more united, open, and impartial in their application.

It is very doubtful if their proceedings be more defensible in point of expediency, than of a faithful application of principle. The veto law is not less offensive to the patrons than a measure for entire abolition would have been. In the eyes of a worldly man, patronage, on the principle of the veto, is not worth any thing; and, rather than conflict with the people, submit to the mortification of a defeat, and of seeing a stigma fastened upon a young man whom he may desire to favour, he would be quit of his right of nomination altogether. And although the church had been empowered by law to pass the veto, the measure must have proved very offensive to patrons; for by her long-continued sanction of absolute patronage, she had taught them to put a high value upon it, and to purchase perhaps at a thousand pounds what they have now attempted to reduce to little more than a name. The abolition of patronage

would have been resisted ; but there is no reason to think that it would have been more offensive to patrons and to the civil powers than what was adopted in its room.

We can declare with full certainty, that there is no comparison betwixt non-intrusion and free election in the account of the people. If there be one point on which our peasantry and people in the lower ranks who have any attachment to the established church, be more agreed than another, it is in a disposition to oppose patronage, and to assert their right to the election of their ministers. All who feel interested in the subject understand what is meant by the abolition of patronage ; very few can conceive the meaning of non-intrusion. It would be easy for our reformers to command public support to a measure for the abolition of the former ; but it is very doubtful how far the people would follow them, and how long they would stand by them in support of the latter. In the one case argument is so clear and cogent as to be understood by all, and appeals are so pointed that few can resist them ; in the other, such objections as the above deprive arguments of their pith, and of their power, and divest appeals of all their point and efficiency. Mere non-intrusion is bad policy as regards the people.

Nor is it better as it respects the best interests of the church. It is not sufficient to protect her from intrusion. There is in patronage an inherent tendency to intrusion, and wherever it exists, it will ultimately intrude. For a short time it may be successfully counteracted, but it will at length regain its power and produce its natural effects. The reason is, that it is wielded by the wealth and the influence of the world, while the veto must be wrought by the poor and dependent. The tenant may for a little strive with his landlord, and the servant with his master, but it is evident that, despairing of success, they will soon abstain from a contest so perilous to

their temporal interests ; and that they will either lie down in indifference, or leave the church and join a secession, where they can without molestation enjoy the liberties and privileges of the children of God.

But mere non-intrusion is still farther from being satisfactory when viewed in relation to its acceptance with God, and our ground to expect it to be accompanied with his divine blessing. Without this the most promising and well-supported measures of men wil prove utterly fallacious ; but, sanctioned by the countenance and supported by the strength of the Most High, any measure, however foolish in the account of human wisdom, and however feebly supported by talent or by numbers, must prevail. With divine concurrence our cause is gained ; without it we are undone. Is it putting honour upon God for a church professedly asserting the honour of Christ as her head, and practically and powerfully doing so in some instances, to hesitate and deal in half measures, as has been done of late ? And is there not reason to think that by looking to ministers of the crown and dukes for measures, instead of exerting their own spiritual power about such an ecclesiastical matter as the appointment of pastors, they are encouraging the very Erastianism which, in other respects, they strongly condemn ; and that they are too like Ephraim, when in his sickness he went to the Assyrian, and sent to king Jareb, and by so doing provoked the Lord to tear him like a lion, so that none shall rescue him.”¹

These are not the malignant and designing exposures of an enemy, employed for the purpose of embarrassing and discouraging the servants of God in the work and warfare of their divine Master ; they are the kind and conscientious remonstrances of a friend who would count no sacrifice too great for the triumph of all that is sound in principle and praise-

¹ Hosea v. 13, 14.

worthy in practice in the Church of Scotland; and, though they impugn some of the measures of men, at once distinguished for all that is great in talent, profound in learning, persuasive in eloquence, disinterested in character, and fervent in piety, this is not done with complacency, but with reluctance, and, but for unfeigned respect for them, and zeal in the cause in which they are embarked, never would have appeared. We see that the ground on which they are posted is too low and narrow; that on it they can neither do justice to the cause for which they are contending nor to themselves; and oh! for the voice of an archangel that we might be enabled to call them and to constrain them to come up higher. They never can fully and faithfully serve their Master, vindicate his supremacy over his house, and assert the liberties of his people on their present position. They have already made honourable advances in the cause of vital Christianity, in extending the church, in spreading the gospel, and in the employment of means for converting the Jews, and for gathering in all nations to the fold of the great Shepherd; and they have done much in promoting and defending the liberties of the people, but it is impossible for them to conduct their exalted enterprises to any honourable and satisfactory termination until they take higher ground. Leaving their level of instalments and of temporizing with patrons and public placemen, let them at once ascend to the higher and more honourable altitude of the second reformation; there they will find firm footing and free air, there they may expect more of the cheering light of the Sun of Righteousness, and more of the bracing, and invigorating, and blessing influences of the breath of the Lord from the four winds. This Mount Zion is all before them. Its inhabitants are few, and scattered, and greatly discouraged. But it is holy ground. It is the battle-field where the Lord triumphed gloriously. There Henderson led the armies of the living God on

to victory. There Rutherford, and Durham, and Douglas, stood with the Lamb, and served him in spirit and truth. There Argyll died. And it was there that Guthrie and a great cloud of witnesses, overcame by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony, and loved not their lives unto the death. It is covenanting ground,—the place for asserting the honours of Christ and the liberties of his people,—the proper altitude for concerting measures of extension, and union, and every enterprise that is grand, and liberal, and glorious. Let our men of talent and eloquence come up hither, and identify themselves with these worthies by swearing allegiance to God, fidelity in his cause, and union among themselves, let them show their spiritual independence by the deliberate, and dispassionate, and prayerful preparation of a measure to meet present emergencies ; and then in the strength of the Lord God and with all the support that the people can be solicited to afford, let them present it respectfully to the government of their country, earnestly petitioning for its ratification, and manifesting that they are requesting no more than what is warranted by the dictates of scripture, and desired by the great majority of the church and people of Scotland. Such a proposal will be despised and spurned away by the wisdom of this world ; but let us remember that the wisdom of the world is foolishness with God. Where is your faith ? Now is the time when that grace which is glorifying to God and so essential for the Christian soldier, is in peculiar requisition. It is only by seeing Him who is invisible, hearing his promises, and realizing his sufficiency, that we can show ourselves superior to the counsels of flesh and blood, and be more than conquerors over sin, Satan, and the world. Lord increase our faith ! Then shall we be assured that, if we supremely consult his honour, he will not leave us in want of any thing necessary for our real good. It is easy for Him who has the hearts of all men in his

hand, to give his people to find grace in the eyes of statesmen, so as to obtain their encouragement in his work ; but although he may leave them to the hostility and hardness of their own minds, he will give his faithful servants an hundred-fold more, even in this present life, than all they may be honoured to lose for his name's sake, and in the world to come life everlasting.

THE END.

BALFOUR AND JACK, PRINTERS, EDINBURGH.

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